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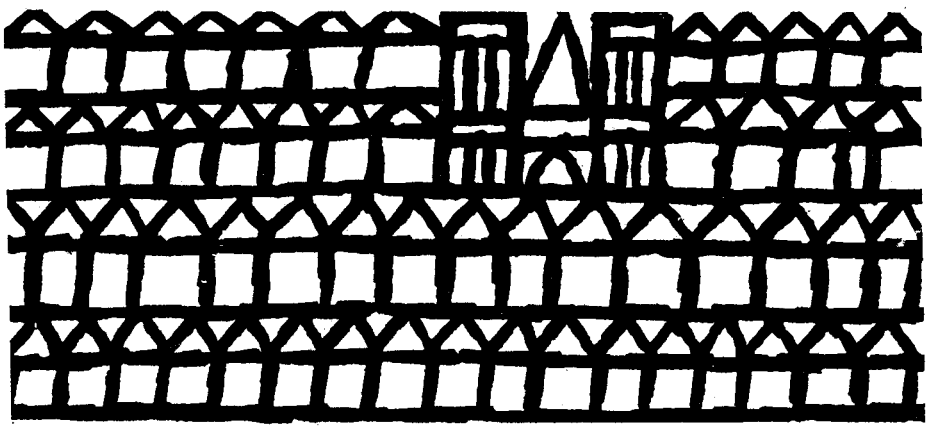

Abortion

A BIOLOGICAL VIEW

Thomas L. Hayes

A LEGAL VIEW

Robert M. Byrn

Rhetorical Escalation — *by William Pfaff*

Our Man in Ethiopia — *by Barry Hillenbrand*

Catholic Bishops and Vietnam — *by Bishop James P. Shannon & Robert McAfee Brown*

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Not a man to do things half-way, right-wing columnist Father Daniel Lyon, S.J., has sent a right-wing questionnaire and got (gasp!) right-wing answers. He says he sent the form to all the priests in the United States and got 3,170 replies. The respondents oppose admission of China to the U.N., favor a "firm policy of winning the war in Vietnam," and want "Free Chinese troops" (Aesopian language for Chiang Kai-shek) to be used against the Vietcong. Father Lyons got the wrong answer on only one of eight questions: "Should the U.S. continue to prevent Free China from bombing Red China's nuclear plant? Yes, 1,446, no, 1,431." Better luck next year.

•

Let's thrash those beatniks for the old Gipper!

"Bud" Dudley, former Notre Dame football player and president of the Liberty Bowl, writing in the *Notre Dame Alumnus*:

"Why are these so-called intellectuals —malcontents and beatniks—the local campus leaders? In my opinion, it is because most modern college athletes appear to be taking the easy way out and are not assuming their normal roles as leaders and men of responsibility. Not too many years ago the athlete enjoyed a unique position on every college campus in America. He was admired, respected and held in high regard by the entire student body.

"In recent years he has sat back and allowed a small group of students who basically are jealous of his athletic ability, to malign and ridicule him primarily in the school paper and at other public gatherings. . . .

"Alumni varsity clubs can help by urging their prospective new members that it is high time that the clean, wholesome element of the campus take over. Encourage them to show these 'angry young men' what a robust college training can do to train a boy physically and mentally but especially spiritually in the way of service to his God and a credit to his country.

"Frankly, I have had enough of this 'beatnik' type and all of his complaints about his school and the United States in general. I pray to God that he will soon pass from the scene and once again we will be restored to sanity. I am proud of my Alma Mater—I am proud to be an American—I thank God every night that I do not have to live in most of the foreign countries I have ever visited. Only after one short trip, most people are convinced that the US isn't too bad after all. Let us preserve what we have—let's pull this game out of the fire."

•

Animal Ranch is a paperback launched by the editors of *Monocle*, the satirical magazine. Among the animals discussed in some detail are Lady Duck, Hubert the Parrot, Wayne Horse, Bobsy Rabbitt ("known in his eavesdropping days as 'Bugs' Bunny"), Mutton Luther King, Owl Warren, Dean Muskrat and Lyndon Bull.

Also in the limelight is Robert M. MacTractor, whom some of the animals feel lacks bestiality. "But Lyndon Bull is quick to defend his friend: 'A tractor, yes,' Bull says. 'But does not a tractor get hungry for gas? Does not a tractor honk when its horn is pushed? When you prick him, does he not get a flat? . . . deep down inside, Mac is more truly a beast than any other animal I know.' "

•

Archbishop Philip F. Pocock of Toronto, defending clerical celibacy:

"A priest must love God with his whole heart, with his whole mind, with his whole soul. He must be willing to sacrifice the love of a woman. . . . Can you conceive of our blessed Lord as a married man?"

•

What religious books are read on campus these days?

Royce Smith, book department manager of the Yale co-op: "The secular books and the books of theological infighting have led the students on to reading more strictly theological works by maverick scholars. Teilhard has a large student audience. Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Letters and Papers from Prison* and *The Cost of Discipleship* (both *Macmillan*) are continuing favorites. Abraham Heschel, author of *Man Is Not Alone* (*Farrar, Harper Torchbooks*) has a following.

Tillich is still widely read, particularly his *The New Being* (*Scribners*), *The Courage to Be* (*Yale*) and *The Shaking of the Foundations* (*Scribners*), but Niebuhr and Gilson have waned somewhat. Karl Barth and Martin Buber continue to find new readers. Paul Tournier and Paul Ricoeur are very much admired, but more of their work needs to be in paper. Frederick Buechner's Lenten book for Seabury Press, *The Magnificent Defeat*, was the first Lenten book in years for which we had a significant sale.

"But the best sellers continue to be the less scholarly, more secular writers: Harvey Cox, William Stringfellow, Daniel Callahan, Thomas Altizer, William Hamilton. And, of course, *The Gospel According to Peanuts*, by Robert L. Short, using Charles Schulz's cartoons (*John Knox*). Way, way out there are Malcolm Boyd's *Are You Running With Me, Jesus?* (*HR&W; Avon*) and Carl F. Burke's *God is for Real, Man* (*Association*)."

•

The comments above by Mr. Smith were delivered at a New York luncheon of the Religious Publishers Group, American Book Publishers Council. Another speaker, Robert Perry, head of the religion department of New York University (Washington Square), said that Tillich, Buber and Teilhard are still big on campus. He said Harvey Cox interests students but is regarded as a bit "tricky" in respect to what he actually believes or does not believe. Also Freud and Shaw are out; Norman O. Brown is in.

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Abortion Issue

Bedford, N.H.

To the Editors: Your editorial "Abortion & Pluralism" (Feb. 24) carries with it the implication that those who do not subscribe to your absolutist position are morally obtuse on this issue. The substantial body of opinion favoring liberalization of the abortion law, both from medical and religious sources, certainly cannot be ascribed to a mere lack of understanding of the basic moral issues involved. If we Catholics have learned anything in recent years, I thought that it was that we had no corner on the market of truth and that the Holy Spirit is at work in the world in many places beside the Roman Church.

While it may well be that the proposed legislation in New York will not pass this year, the same issue is going to arise again not only in New York but in many other states as well. Presumably, the Georgia legislature has already enacted a law even more liberally phrased than the proposed New York legislation. Faced with the problem, are we to rely on pat phrases which require a rationalization in order to penetrate to the substantial truth involved? Or should we not attempt to work out an approach which is persuasive to all men of good will?

I agree that the issue must be faced in broader terms than incest, rape and other extraordinary circumstances. There must be some rational basis for adopting an attitude that has some general application. We know that the foetus has no independent physical life in its initial stages of development. It is not viable. This period corresponds to some extent with the period during which abortion is a relatively simple and safe medical technique. There is then a consistency between what is medically harmless and the physiological fact that the foetus cannot exist independently. Perhaps this is an indication that there is not a necessary violation of nature in the termination of the develop-

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ABORTION AND DIALOGUE

In an editorial of February 24, "Abortion and Pluralism," we argued that no convincing reasons have been advanced to show the morality of abortion or its social necessity. We also urged that Catholics have the right to oppose change in abortion laws and that if this opposition is carried forward in a rational, democratic way, no harm is done to pluralistic dialogue. Unhappily, a number of our readers and friends, people with whom we rarely differ, saw our editorial as an uncharacteristic instance of "hard-line" thinking: absolutist in its tone, insensitive to the moral issues at stake, uncompromising in spirit. Mr. John S. Holland's letter, printed in the adjoining column, expresses well a common reaction to the editorial. That our friends at *Christianity and Crisis*, with whom we usually agree on social issues, also took our editorial strongly to task was a disquieting surprise.

Criticism of this kind hurts, especially when we are charged with violating principles of discussion and moral sensitivity which we have ourselves long proclaimed. But have we actually done so, or at least made it seem that way? Let us confess at once that the editorial of February 24, as well as earlier editorials on the same subject, did not in fact display much evidence that we are taking into account, to use Mr. Holland's words, "the substantial body of opinion favoring liberalization of the abortion law." We should have done so, for we are in fact trying to take this opinion into account. More strongly, we have no grounds to assume that our conscience is necessarily more enlightened on this issue than that of others. We do, however, think that there are many logical defects in the arguments which are being presented in favor of liberalized abortion laws. To say this carries no implication whatever of moral obtuseness.

Some readers have also suggested that we allowed ourselves to get caught in the black-or-white trap, bringing the whole issue down to a simplistic yes or no level. Perhaps that is a justifiable criticism. Obviously the issue is complicated, but it must also be seen that the pressure for liberalization of the law

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has itself usually been cast in black-or-white terms: support liberalization or stand condemned as a moral monster. The trouble with legislative bills, however, is that legislators must vote yes or no. The bills may be amended to take account of objections, but in the end there must still be a flat vote one way or the other. This is hard on sensitive exploration, leaving too little room for nuance. But that is in fact the way votes are finally taken.

We do not believe at this time that liberalized abortion laws should be passed. It is quite conceivable that in the months to come our opinion on the morality of abortion will change; by no means do we preclude that possibility. But at this time our opinion on the matter has not yet changed and, feeling that way, we can do nothing else than oppose change.

One way or another, of course, someone will be hurt. Our consciences would be offended by a change in the law, but then our opposition (and that of other Catholics) offends the consciences of others. There is no simple way out here as long as the issue is, in part, legislative. Were it just a matter of abstract discussion we could all continue to grope around in the fog at no cost to the conscience of anyone. Since it is, however, a question of 1967 legislation, a choice has to be made for 1967. We have made our choice, trying to recognize all the while that the issue has been presented in terms far less than ideal.

What of 1968? We do not know where we will stand then. Two things at least are clear. First, even the most diligent survey of Catholic literature will not turn up much recent writing on the question of abortion. There has been very little discussion and most of it, we're afraid, displays all the symptoms of a resolutely closed mind. Until the issue is explored fully once again Catholics have no reason for complacency about their position (nor does *Commonweal*). Secondly, however, it seems to us no less clear that many of those most actively pressing for change in the law are equally closed in their thinking. If there is to be any discussion, they will have to open their minds as well (and they might begin by not making us out to be moral monsters for opposing change at the moment).

For surely the issue is at least in doubt, and no one can claim that the problem has been so long discussed, so wisely debated, so thoroughly researched that nothing remains for either side but to state their position and go into battle at full gallop.

In a recent letter to one of our editors, Pastor Richard Neuhaus, a Lutheran minister and a co-chairman of "Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Viet Nam" wrote the following words: "Several times in the last two weeks I have turned down requests to join in statements or meetings designed to support these legal changes [in N.Y. state abortion laws]. Each time I was given to understand that I was, for some inexplicable reason, failing the liberal cause. Nonsense. They fail to realize that liberalism doesn't come in a package. It develops issue by issue carefully considered. And at this point I agree with you wholeheartedly that the abortion question has not undergone the necessary testing in the cauldron of critical thought. I have considered that this opinion might simply reflect my failure to give this careful study, but conversations with some of abortion's most vehement proponents convince me that the lack of careful thought is by no means my private problem."

For our part, we will try to re-think our position, trying to give the issue the kind of careful thought Pastor Neuhaus believes is needed. And we hope those so indignant about opposition to change will do the same. If we are all lucky, and responsible, the next round in the discussion may produce something more than unpleasant polemic.

RFK WANTS OUT

Stop the bombing, begin talks, get international supervision of borders and military activities, phase out American and North Vietnamese forces, arrange for free elections in which all groups of South Vietnamese could participate. These are Senator Robert Kennedy's proposals for reaching a settlement in Vietnam. They are worthy suggestions and ought to be heeded, which they won't be. Messrs. Johnson and Rusk nearly stumbled over one another in rushing to assure the world that Senator Kennedy doesn't know what he is talking about.

The Kennedy speech raises questions beyond its actual content. Why did he make it? He surely knew beforehand that the President was not about to accept his advice. Upon his return from Paris Kennedy underwent a "session" with the President which was just this side of shocking. Johnson rained Kennedy with abuse. (According to one account, Jack Newfield's in the *Village Voice,* Johnson charged that Kennedy's peace attempts were responsible for boys' dying in Vietnam. Johnson "told him America was winning the war and that Kennedy and all the doves like him would be dead politically in six months.") While pointing out that Washington has hardened its terms for negotiations on Vietnam during the past year, Kennedy probably realized his speech itself could cause even more Administration hardening.

The Senator could be angling for votes, but Vietnam is not a happy issue for vote-hunters. More likely, and more disturbing, is simply that Kennedy concluded the Administration's Vietnam policy is beyond the point of rational discussion. His open break with the President is another sign of the government's growing disinterest in a negotiated settlement. Either Kennedy believes that public pressure is the only means of steering America off the fatal track of a total-victory policy, or he merely wants to go on record today as opposing the folly which will be recognized tomorrow.

The letter from President Johnson to Senator Jackson, released just before the Kennedy talk and in effect meant as a rebuttal, is a curious document, not at all unworthy

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of the Ministry of Truth. It outlines the three objectives for which the United States undertook the bombing of North Vietnam. The first was "to back our fighting men and our fighting allies" by proving that the enemy would not be allowed any safe sanctuary. (Translation: to lend prestige to the then tottering Saigon government and to mollify the American military.) The second was "to impose on North Vietnam a cost for violating its international agreements." (Translation: to serve as impartial world judge, meting out chastisement wherever it is due.) The third was "to limit or raise the cost" of infiltration. (Translation: we haven't been able to stop infiltration or even to diminish it, but we have done a lot of damage elsewhere.)

No mention at all here of bringing North Vietnam to the negotiating table. History is rewritten to fit the outcome.

Double Standard on Vietnam

Human beings, being human, live by a delightful set of double standards. *Your* son, for instance, is a "dumbbell," mine is a "slow learner." Your son is a "juvenile delinquent," mine has "emotional problems." So it goes.

When it comes to "your" country and "mine," the same double standard applies. We are sure, as Americans, that it is morally right for the United States to intervene in South Vietnam to "save it from Communism." But we would of course consider it dastardly if the Russians sent troops to Ghana, when Nkrumah fell, to save that country from a pro-Western regime.

We proclaim as eternal principle the Monroe Doctrine which prohibits European (and other) powers from establishing colonies or military bases in the Western Hemisphere. But the demand by China that the United States stop encircling it with bases in Okinawa, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, etc., is of course a ruse behind which China plans "world conquest."

It is only ten years since we were condemning the Russians for doing in Hungary, on a smaller scale, what we are now doing in Vietnam. Almost no American then sought to extenuate the Soviet crime. A majority of the American Communist Party itself denounced the attack. Even John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, demanded, in terse and unequivocal phrases, that Khrushchev withdraw immediately from Hungary.

The Russian premier's plaint that intervention was undertaken under the terms of the "Warsaw Pact" and at the request of a "friendly government" was dismissed as Bowery-grade moonshine. The argument by some Moscow-apologists that the tanks were needed to repress reactionaries like Cardinal Mindszenty, the CIA and the ancient fascists coming out of the woodwork, was waved aside with scorn.

There was a sliver of truth to Khrushchev's belabored rationale, as there usually is with all complicated social phenomena. Russia did have a pact with Hungary, under which it was accorded the right to station troops there. This legalistic facade was certainly as weighty as the Johnson-Rusk fiction that American troops are in Vietnam under the strictures of the SEATO pact.

The request for Soviet troops to establish "law and order" in 1956 *was* made by a duly constituted government, no less unrepresentative of the will of the Hungarian people than General Ky is unrepresentative of the will of the Vietnamese people. And as for the CIA and the reactionaries, certainly they were fishing in troubled waters, the one difference with present-day Vietnam being that while they were catching few fish the Communist-controlled National Liberation Front seems to be doing monumentally better.

The murder of 47,000 Hungarians by the Soviets under Khrushchev was denounced a decade ago as the crime of the century which the world must never forget; while the killing of twice that number or more *each year* by our own brigades in Vietnam is called in certain liberal quarters a "sad mistake" based on "poor advice" to the President. No one this side of the Atlantic dreamed in 1956 of proposing that Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter negotiate a "compromise" settlement with Khrushchev that would allow him to "save face," or that the Soviets retreat to "enclaves" while such a compromise could be pressed by world opinion. Today even the "good guys"—Kennan, Gavin, Ridgeway, Goodwin, Schlesinger—spend endless hours worrying about "face-saving," "prestige" and similar bric-a-brac.

We carried pictures of devastated sections of Budapest in our fiction magazines—such as *Time*—back in 1956, and our government rallied to the cry of the "freedom fighters" to evacuate them from Hungarian soil to the free lands westward. But most of us today—leaving aside the fiction magazines—are so numb under a barrage of misinformation and propaganda that we no longer cry at the leveling of Ben Suc and three villages in the iron triangle this January. And only Terre des Hommes, the Committee of Responsibility and a few others have protested the wiles of the South Vietnam and American governments in preventing the evacuation of napalmed children so that they can be treated in Switzerland and the U.S.

The Russians, you see, were monsters, killing out of evil motives to preserve a slave empire. We kill only because McGeorge Bundy, Walt Rostow, Dean Rusk, Maxwell Taylor, and Robert McNamara gave President Johnson the wrong advice, and there is now no longer an "easy way out" if the world is to remain impressed with our determination to "honor our commitments."

The double standard has become our last bastion.

SIDNEY LENS

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Our Man In Ethiopia

Haile Selassie is an American sacred cow. He is unknockable. Recalled as that heroic, slight figure pleading his hopeless case before an impotent League of Nations, the Emperor is to most Americans the single most identifiable African leader. His policies, while hardly understood in this country, are heartily endorsed for what they outwardly represent: civility, stability, and "whiteness" on a continent plagued by what many Americans take for savagery, instability and mysterious blackness. His recent visit to the U.S. reassures Americans that there is something stable in unstable Africa.

The United States is deeply committed to Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, supplying it with five times the military aid given any other African nation. Amounting to more than $100 million since 1945, this aid has helped the Emperor maintain his secure position. Ethiopia's national and territorial unity, only achieved under Menelik II at the close of the 19th century, has been based primarily upon Haile Selassie's ability to check regional leaders. As late as his restoration in 1941, regionalism was a serious threat to the Emperor's power. Regional strong men, such as *Dejazmatch* Belai Zelleka of Gojjam province, represented challenges to national unity not unlike the Katanga problem in the Congo. Frictions involving the Galla tribes in the South and the Tigre in the North also presented tribal conflicts similar to those in many African nations.

The Emperor has used American military aid to build a national army and a national police force and thus check regionalism and tribalism. By rotating officers and men throughout the Empire before local loyalties can be established, the possibility of a provincial army threatening the Emperor's power has been eliminated. There is no longer a Gojjamesse army or a Tigrean army to rise up against the central government.

American military aid has not only been a response to the creation of national unity and stability for the Emperor, but in recent years has been colored by the rise of Somali nationalism which conflicts sharply with Ethiopia's views of its traditional boundaries. Somalia, a union of former British and Italian Somaliland, has received substantial military and economic aid from China and Russia. Its army, while lacking the practical experience that the Ethiopian Army gained in Korea and the Congo, is rated by many as the second best in Black Africa—second only to Ethiopia. American sense of competition has been brought to the fore by Communist interest in Somalia. When, in 1964, the ever present "border clashes" between Ethiopia and Somalia broke out into open and large scale warfare, there were serious difficulties in restraining American airmen from flying combat missions. In addition to the usual American MAAG (Military Aid & Assistance Group) forces which have been advising the Ethiopian Army since 1953, US Special Forces were seen around Dire Dawa, a city near the Ethiopian-Somali border, and provided a wealth of material for rumor-prone Ethiopia.

Ethiopia's conflict with Somalia will become critical if French Somaliland votes for independence in the coming election. Both Ethiopia and Somalia claim the French Somaliland as an intrinsic part of their national territory. Djibouti, the capital of French Somaliland, is linked to Addis Ababa by rail and is Ethiopia's main seaport, a port which Ethiopia is not prepared to surrender without a fight. An Ethiopian-Somali war would pit American trained forces against Communist trained ones and place the U.S. in another potential conflict.

The Real Reason

But American military aid was not initiated to meet the problems of the Somali threat or to build national unity. It is a pay-off for Ethiopia's toleration of Kagnew Station, an important American military communications center located in the northern city of Asmara. Kagnew provides the communications link between the US and the Mediterranean area. Kagnew remains the most important single block to smooth Ethiopian-American relations.

In most parts of the Empire any anti-American feeling is attributable to a general suspicion of foreigners. But in Asmara anti-Americanism is virulent and directly related to the U.S. base. Street boys in Asmara spurt forth with four-letter American words, unknown even in cosmopolitan Addis Ababa where the street boys are usually multilingual; hotel and restaurant owners are curt; shopkeepers are inflexible; and the general citizenry is hostile.

Students throughout Ethiopia are touchy about the subject and can supply upon moment's notice a wealth of information about Kagnew ranging from the rumor-based stories about the presence of a mysterious set of tunnels, which the students say contain ICBMS and which even the Emperor himself is not allowed to inspect, to more factual tales about American servicemen being flown quickly and quietly out of Ethiopia after running down Ethiopians in base cars which tend to be ostentatiously large and flashy.

The key factor in Ethiopian-American relations is of course the Emperor who embodies a governmental system which is basically feudal and absolute, despite the trappings of a constitution and a Parliament. But what will happen if the Emperor does not live forever? It is then that many feel the American investment in the Ethiopian military will pay off, not only for the US, but for Ethiopia and Africa as well.

A united and disciplined military may well provide the one thread of continuity and stability which would enable

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Ethiopia to find a new form of government without excessive bloodletting and without fragmentation of the Empire. The military might press for a tight or even dictatorial form of government—and perhaps Ethiopia is not ready for any other type—but the military has more in common with the liberal, democratic-minded elements of society than with the conservative forces of the Coptic Church and the landed nobility.

There are many, including the present American Ambassador to Ethiopia, who argue that Ethiopia spends too much on military programs and not enough on social and economic development. Indeed the millions of dollars, both American and Ethiopian, spent on the military would work wonders were it applied to agriculture in Ethiopia where the iron plow is rare and the tractor simply unknown. But on the other hand this might not be too high a price to pay for an orderly interregnum after the Emperor is gone.

BARRY HILLENBRAND

(Barry Hillenbrand, a graduate student at New York University, recently spent two years teaching in Ethiopia.)

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MORE ON AN OPEN LETTER

CATHOLIC BISHOPS AND VIETNAM

In the Feb. 17 issue, Commonweal columnist ("A Protestant Viewpoint") Robert McAfee Brown addressed an open letter to the American Bishops in connection with their non-participation in the recent Washington protest against the Vietnam war. This is the text of a column written, in reply by Auxiliary Bishop James P. Shannon of St. Paul-Minneapolis for the Feb. 24th issue of the archdiocesan weekly, the Catholic Bulletin, *followed by Dr. Brown's comments:*

On Jan. 31 and Feb. 1 in Washington, D.C., citizens from across the land gathered to make a dramatic but restrained protest against continuance of the war in Vietnam. Some of these citizens were clergymen (Protestant, Jewish, Orthodox and Catholic). In its editorial page on Jan. 30 and Feb. 8 the Minneapolis *Star* challenged the right of any clergyman, in clerical garb or in mufti, to take part in any such public protest. This strangely illiberal position puzzled many loyal readers of the *Star* and put the friends of that distinguished journal on the spot as they groped for some intelligible defense for its endorsement of this double standard—one for the clergy (police, military, and public servants) and one for all other citizens.

Needless to say the *Star* had a very solid point when it said that it is difficult if not impossible for any clergyman to speak for his parish, his diocese, his denomination, or for his fellow clergy. Many of us who have wrestled with this crucial personal dilemma were in hearty agreement. But the *Star* went far beyond this solid ground and categorically denied any clergyman the right to protest any public policy with which he personally disagrees.

As the clergy of the upper Midwest smarted under this denial of their elementary right as citizens, some of them were astonished to find themselves attacked in the same week on the same issue but for precisely opposite reasons in the columns of *Commonweal.* Writing for that distinguished journal, Robert McAfee Brown, professor of religion at Stanford University, addressed an open letter to the Catholic bishops of the United States and charged them with failure as spiritual leaders and implied they were faithless to Pope Paul's pleas for peace because they did not take part in the same Washington protest on Vietnam.

The appearance within a week of these two diametrically opposed charges against the clergy illustrates well the special difficulties which conscientious churchmen in general and Catholic bishops in particular must face these days.

The Second Vatican Council in several of its decrees but especially in its Constitution on the Church in the World Today reminded the clergy of their obligation to give witness for Christian teaching amid the social injustices and cultural maladies of our day. This document in effect urges priests to cultivate both personal piety and a Christian conscience in public affairs. Implicit in this directive is the premise that the Christian conscience has in the past endorsed racial discrimination and other social injustices by its silence.

A serious Christian like Robert McAfee Brown agrees with Vatican II and wonders why the Catholic bishops of this country will not agree with his methods of giving Christian witness. Editorials like those in the *Star* disagree with Vatican II and recommend that clergy refrain from spelling out the social and political corollaries of the Gospel.

By far the more serious question here is the one raised by Dr. Brown. As a Christian he has a moral obligation to follow his conscience and to voice his reservations about American participation in the war in Vietnam. But he does not have the right to decide how his fellow Christians will voice their concern and current agony about this same problem. In his open letter Dr. Brown is less than fair with the American hierarchy.

I cannot speak for the American Catholic bishops. But I am one of them. And I can say that I had no advance knowledge of the planned protest on Vietnam. I was never invited to take part in the initial discussions for this

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assembly. Then just a few days before the scheduled assembly in Washington all the American bishops received telegrams urging them to appear on Jan. 31 in Washington. None of them did appear.

Independent Protestant theologians like Dr. Brown enjoy a great freedom in their response to such invitations. A freedom, incidentally, which many of their fellow Christians have occasion to envy. But Catholic bishops, as the Minineapolis *Star* would certainly agree, do not enjoy this perfect liberty of response to social ills.

As a Christian who shares Dr. Brown's premises and his anguish over Vietnam, I must remark that his style of public protest, currently in great favor among dissenters, is simply not the style of the Catholic bishops. He might well argue that the bishops should learn his style, but he has no right to demand that they do so immediately, on his terms, on short notice, and at a meeting they were never invited to plan.

It does not disturb me greatly to challenge the newspaper editorials cited above. No serious student of civil rights or of Christian teaching will take them seriously. But I am deeply disturbed by the tactics of Robert McAfee Brown, whom I admire as a Christian, as a scholar, and as a person. For he too betrays his own liberal tradition by denying that the Catholic bishops of the United States are concerned about the war in Vietnam.

His mode of response to this agony of our day is his free choice. But he has no right to require that his response be the only Christian response. Nor has he the right to say the American bishops do not share the heartfelt prayer of Pope Paul that peace will come—and soon —in Vietnam.

Any man who enjoys the vast respect and admiration to which Robert McAfee Brown has just claim must guard himself against winning cheap popularity with his fellow liberals at the expense of good men who share his Christian faith and his high hopes for that faith as a conscience in our society.

REPLY

I appreciate the forthrightness and the tone of Bishop Shannon's response to my "open letter." He is clearly trying to continue a correspondence rather than conclude one, and we have enough agreement to make possible a creative discussion of our disagreement.

We are agreed that clergy must give witness to their concern about society, that the Minneapolis *Star* is wrong in suggesting that they have no such right, that Vatican II lays down a mandate to cultivate a Christian conscience in public affairs, and that it implicitly rebukes Christians who have failed to do so. By Bishop Shannon's admission we also share the same "premises and . . . anguish over Vietnam." All this means a great deal to me for I know that Bishop Shannon is one who puts his body where his words are; his presence in Selma, Alabama, at the memorial service for James Reeb forever endeared him to his Protestant and Jewish brethren present on that occasion.

Bishop Shannon does not object to my protesting Vietnam in the way I see fit (for which I thank him, since many of my fellow Protestants object strenuously), but he does object, strenuously, to what he feels is my suggestion that Catholic bishops must do it the same way. He also objects to the implication he finds in my letter that the American Catholic bishops are not really concerned about peace.

I have no right to suggest or imply either thing. It would be arrogant to ask the bishops simply to do as I do (and tactically ineffective, since I don't do very much), and it would be equally arrogant to presume to pass judgment on the degree of their concern about Vietnam. But I can see, upon re-reading my "open letter," a couple of sentences that could lead to such impressions and I regret them, since they are unworthy and since they deflect from the main concern of the letter. *Mea culpa.*

Bishop Shannon mentions twice that it was unfair to expect Catholic bishops to appear on such short notice at a meeting which they had no share in planning. I know that Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam has tried in the past to secure episcopal participation (for one breath-taking twenty-four-hour period Cardinal Cushing was on the letterhead), and that numerous efforts were made to get bishops to help in the planning of the Washington meeting and to participate in the program itself. It must simply be reported that for whatever reasons, there has been singular difficulty in securing the participation of the American hierarchy. I hope it will not be so in the future. It has been so in the past.

Now to my main concern. Bishop Shannon comments that the style of public protest he feels I represent, "currently in great favor among dissenters, is simply not the style of the Catholic bishops." This seems to me to put far too sinister a reading on the clergy mobilization. What we did at Washington was to discuss together, worship together, hear speeches, talk to our congressmen, ask questions of our public officials, and on one occasion, and

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NEXT WEEK

D. Gareth Porter writes on the subject of "limited war in Vietnam":

". . . if, in Secretary Rusk's words, 'there has to be clear evidence that our air strength in North Vietnam is going to apply continued pressure and they are going to suffer continuing loss and pain from the air,' then the bombing can hardly be confined to surgical strikes against strictly military targets which have little impact on the willingness or ability of Hanoi to carry on its support of the war in the South. It must deeply affect civilian life itself."

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one only, make the public witness of a silent vigil in front of the White House. I find it hard to see how any of these activities (save, to the most diffident, the last one) could possibly cause distress to either the style or convictions of a Catholic bishop.

Apparently, however, they did, and so at this point I must shift from the defensive to the offensive and, with all the conviction I can muster, say something like this: if we failed to provide a style of protest in which you could feel comfortable, then for the love of heaven offer us, and all of your fellow Christians, some other styles in which we can participate together. Let us employ your style as well as our own. If my final plea, "We ask you to join us," is out of step with your own style, then let me turn the plea around: "ask us to join you." Many of us, far more concerned about Vietnam than about style, are desperately looking for ways to mobilize a strong ecumenical voice, a voice that will make its way through the apparently impenetrable walls of the White House, a voice representatively Protestant, Catholic, Jew, humanist, man, woman, Negro, white, saying ever more insistently, "No more war. War never again."

I believe Bishop Shannon when he says that the American bishops "share the heartfelt prayer of Pope Paul VI that peace will come—and soon—in Vietnam." But I do not think Lyndon Johnson believes it, and I do not think he is going to be forced to believe it until some kind of style is found that is more effective than any of us have found yet. (A modest beginning might be to emulate Pope Paul's style of sending telegrams to Mr. Johnson about such specific things as extending lunar truces.) So to all the American bishops for whom the clergy mobilization was not their style, I can only plead, offer us some other forms more vigorous than a mobilization, and we will follow you in droves.

I fervently hope that I have no interest in winning the "cheap popularity" Bishop Shannon refers to in his closing paragraph. No popularity, cheap or otherwise, would be worth purchasing at the cost of dulling the ecumenical impact we *must* make together in the name of the faith we share, which, as Bishop Shannon says, must be "a conscience in our society." ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RHETORICAL ESCALATION

The war in Vietnam suffers badly from propaganda and polarization—a rhetorical escalation. The abstraction "freedom" struggles against that other abstraction, Communism. We Americans insist that the Communist Party of North Vietnam is responsible for the war. They insist that we fight to impose imperialism. The world acts as though Washington and Hanoi could end the war if only the two of us would talk together. But what do the South Vietnamese have to say? They started this war; they bloodily fight it and suffer from it; and the war certainly will not be ended without their participation in the settlement and acquiescence in its terms.

We Americans have reached a point where we are hardly aware of any South Vietnamese who are not Viet Cong or partisans of the Saigon government. The rest are a blank in our imaginations: poor peasants, no doubt—anxious for freedom but the ignorant victims of terror and war. Yet here is the mass of Vietnam. They are not all peasants. They are not uncommitted. They too have beliefs and loyalties and institutions. But we Americans, the Saigon authorities, and the National Liberation Front seem allied in a determination to settle their fate for them.

No doubt this is inevitable; war discards the weak, and the mass of Vietnam is divided among itself, given to stubborn and intolerant local and parochial loyalties. But an American policy devoted to centralizing power in the Saigon government so that it can make war also deepens the frustrations and impotence of these native forces which do not give their loyalty to Saigon. It does so with little gain to show for the costs, since a real and legitimate central government is—virtually by definition—irreconcilable with foreign sponsorship on the scale that now prevails in our relationship with Saigon. The best we can achieve is a plausible client, less offensive to our consciences than a military junta, a government which makes its principal appeal to foreign opinion. Thus is strengthened the Communist claim that Vietnam's national alternatives are NLF rule and domination by foreigners.

Yet these are forced alternatives. They distort cruelly the reality of this country. The reality is not congenial to Americans—it is not liberal, "developing," friendly to us and to our values. It often enough is primitive and obscurantist, sectarian, xenophobic, ruthlessly selfish. But it exists. One may deplore the "old" Vietnam and wish it changed, but it is not changed yet, and in the present crisis the only plausible instrument of radical change is the Communist fighting organization thrown up from within Vietnamese society and perfected through a generation of war against foreigners and native rivals.

The Communists today are blocked from victory by our intervention; but conditions on our side of this barrier against the Viet Cong are not improving. If an American military victory seemed possible then the situation might be tolerable, with reconstruction possible after the victory. But as I reported in an earlier article, military victory is not regarded as very likely even by the Americans in Saigon

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who are committed to achieving it. Their faith is now in stalemate—a stalemate which will produce Vietcong disintegration. But this, it seems to me, is a misplaced faith.

The alternative is compromise. Little in the present situation suggests that either side is yet willing to compromise. Washington, carrying out new escalations, seems more committed than ever to the belief that military action can bring about Communist capitulation. Hanoi and the NLF are just as intransigent. But there are new factors in their situation: the intensifying Sino-Soviet conflict and the "cultural revolution" in China. The Vietnamese Communists may feel themselves increasingly isolated, uneasy at events in China and under Soviet pressure to compromise. If the NLF is confident of its organization in the South Vietnamese countryside it might at some point prove willing to make a tactical compromise for strategic gain, transferring its struggle once again to the political arena. This would be dangerous for the Communists, but it is conceivable that events in China and Russia during coming months might force them to this decision.

When compromise does come—in the next few weeks, or after the 1968 presidential election discredits either Hanoi's illusions or our own—there is an important decision to be made by the United States. We can attempt to bring about a settlement which perpetuates a polar confrontation of Communists and anti-Communists. This would mean giving some individual or group our sponsorship, or attempting to create still another new political force in Vietnam to work against the Communists during the period of settlement and coalition. This would be a logical line of policy consistent with a policy of intervention that began with our support for Ngo Dinh Diem in 1954. Official momentum will tend us in this direction. Our purpose then would be to carry on the struggle—just as the Communists will expect to continue their efforts to dominate Vietnam.

The other thing we can do is let the Vietnamese themselves determine the conditions of the settlement in the South—but use our influence to see that in those negotiations *all* the political elements of the south are represented. Our hope might be to see a coalition achieved which fairly reflected all of the divisions and contending interests of South Vietnam.

Any realistic settlement would recognize the Viet Cong's status as the most important single organized group in Vietnamese political society—but by no means as the majority force. The arrangements by which a coalition was formed (and the instruments of force in the country—the army, the police, the interior ministry, the Viet Cong guerrilla force—were controlled) obviously are crucial. But they are within the competence of the Vietnamese themselves to determine. The essential point would be to create conditions in which the separate native forces which exist in Vietnam regain the proportionate strength they have today lost in conditions of war and crisis. The National Liberation Front should be compelled to deal politically with the real variety of forces and interests in the country and not—as now—with a single foreign-sponsored entity whose collapse can permit them to deal piecemeal with all their other rivals.

The purpose of any realistic settlement must be to transfer the internal struggle of the country from the military to the political planes. No settlement now conceivable would see the Viet Cong abandoning its campaign. The true achievement would be to create conditions where war was halted and the use of clandestine violence was contained within tolerable limits, all of the contending forces given some reasonable expectation of achieving some if not all of their objectives through political action—at a smaller cost than in war. Certainly a settlement would have to place external pressures on the situation which made resuming the war or breaking the settlement dangerous to the Communists (or their opponents). There might be explicit foreign Communist (possibly Soviet) restraints on the NLF, and undoubtedly there would be an explicit threat of re-intervention by American troops. There would be a threat of Communist retaliation against others' breaking the settlement. The whole arrangement would usefully be underpinned by as big and elaborate an international supervision machine as it is possible to invent.

In such a settlement the forces of the "old" Vietnam probably could do no more than delay the progress of the NLF and moderate the impact of the Communists' drive towards control. The "new" forces of Vietnam—the political Buddhists or any other movement which might coalesce in these conditions—would also seem unlikely prospects to outmatch the NLF's organizational base and political technique and ruthlessness. But time would be gained in which Vietnamese society would, at least, have one more chance to assert a future for itself on some other terms than those of the NLF. There would be a chance that political struggle would be indefinitely prolonged—no single group able to get a grip on all the instruments of government coercion, no one quite able to defy the international control force and the great-power guarantors of the settlement. If the struggle were thus prolonged, and kept from breaking out again into war, that—it seems to me—would be a great victory snatched from the bleakest of conditions.

But I do not propose this kind of political investment in the strength of the "old" Vietnam out of any belief that it solves Vietnam's problems; it only might mitigate them for a time. I am not hopeful that we will very soon be at a point where settlement is possible. I do think that hard planning about a settlement is important now; otherwise nothing may be salvaged from the war—for Vietnam, or for our own self-respect. And an investment in South Vietnam's stubborn diversity is at least an investment in a reality. The only alternatives I see simply reinforce illusion.

WILLIAM PFAFF

(This is the last of five articles based on a recent trip to Thailand and Vietnam.)

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

PAPIER-MACHÉ TIGER?

Anti-Johnson sentiment in Democratic and liberal circles continues to polarize around Senator Robert Kennedy. Given Republican failure to create an effective opposition, his efforts to suggest alternative policies take on added significance. Take, for example, his recent remarks on U.S. policy toward China.

To my mind, escalation on our side in North Vietnam inevitably carries with it the danger of intervention by China, whether this seems strictly rational in Western eyes or not. But Senator Kennedy thinks we have "wildly exaggerated" the aggressive danger of Peking and underestimated the significance of the Chinese-Soviet split. At the same time he argued that we should extend economic aid to China's neighbors to bolster their internal stability, at a cost "many times greater than we are now paying."

"If a strong and free India is considered vital to our national security, the level of our economic and military assistance should reflect that priority," Senator Kennedy said. "If the lives of thousands of Americans are lost and billions of dollars committed on the theory that Vietnam is essential to us, how can we refuse to assist others on the border of China whose demands may be less but whose strategic importance and whose vulnerability to external and internal Communist dominion may be greater?"

For more than two decades, Senator Kennedy argued, the United States has taken action in regard to China almost without conscious policy or direction. For all that time we have concentrated on isolating China from the world and have treated it with unremitting hostility. "That, however," Senator Kennedy commented, "is not a policy. It is an attitude founded upon fear and passion and wishful hopes." We have exaggerated notions of China's ability to cause trouble, he holds. He considers Communist action in Vietnam as basically a native growth and says China's record of exporting revolution is "one of constant and dramatic failure."

"All this is not to say that China is helpless—a 'paper tiger,' as her leaders once called the United States—or that China can be ignored as a force in the world," he said. Despite the present split inside China between Maoists and anti-Maoists, we must operate on the presumption that when all is over, "we will still face a hostile China." Nonetheless, we must also realize that every extension of Chinese influence does not necessarily menace the United States.

In taking the position he did on China, Senator Kennedy became the second influential figure in recent weeks to challenge Administration views. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, former Ambassador to Japan and leading Asian expert Edwin O. Reischauer also argued that the United States had overestimated the political and military danger posed by Communist China. In his judgment, we should worry less about the Communist danger in Asia and develop more confidence in Asian nationalism as a long-range check on Communism and Chinese expansionism. Even taking into account its development of nuclear weapons, Dr. Reischauer saw China as "an extremely weak power," no rival for the United States or the Soviet Union for twenty years or more.

In his testimony Dr. Reischauer suggested a long-term four-point program for Asia. First of all, he said, the United States should try to minimize our military involvement because American power is not very effective in combating guerrilla wars and subversion and because our vital interests are not likely to be threatened in most places. Secondly, we should not try to induce Asian nations to enter formal alliances with us because such alliances are unlikely to be as effective in giving them security as their own unfettered nationalism. Thirdly, the U.S. should not sponsor political, social or economic change in Asian countries because this leads us into assuming responsibility for a regime. We should, however, be responsive to requests for economic aid that would leave the initiative to Asians. Finally, Dr. Reischauer urged that we shun the role of leader in Asia, rallying allies to our policies; we should instead withdraw "to the role of a friendly outside supporter of individual or collective Asian initiatives."

In short, the views of Senator Kennedy and Dr. Reischauer on China are very close, and in their general direction both parallel the recent argument of George Kennan, who urged that it is time to put the policies, outlook and slogans of the cold war behind us. But even more striking was the similarity of the thinking of the two men on North Vietnam. In New York, Senator Kennedy said he had "serious reservations about the military effectiveness of the bombing of North Vietnam." In Washington, Dr. Reischauer called the idea that pressure and pain inflicted by bombing would push North Vietnam toward negotiations a "psychological blunder"—a misunderstanding of the Asian mentality. What he urged instead was what he called "prudent de-escalation" of American bombing of North Vietnam as a necessary step toward negotiations.

Thus spoke two distinguished critics of present policy. So far the Administration is turning a deaf ear toward them, but let us hope that increasing public pressure will cause a change of heart.

JAMES O'GARA

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Abortion–I

A BIOLOGICAL VIEW

What constitutes a human person?

THOMAS L. HAYES

Science can only contribute in a secondary way to the solution of the question of the origin of the human individual. The criteria that define just what constitutes a human person must come from the disciplines of philosophy and theology, and these criteria should include human qualities known through all of our cognitive processes—not just the impersonal observations and logic of science. If the definition of a human person, as postulated by the theologians, does happen to contain some scientific criteria, then the scientist can make observations to ascertain if these qualities are present in a particular living system. However, science cannot lead theology, and for the theologian to limit such a definition of the human person to scientific qualities alone is to ignore the important personal and experienced modes of knowing reality.

There are certain indications that in fact the Catholic Church may be overemphasizing the role of science in describing the attributes of the human person and may even tend to expect from the morally inert observations of biology the solution to the moral and ethical questions associated with abortion. For example, the Roman Catholic bishops of California in December, 1966, issued a statement on abortion which contained in part the following remarks:

"The paramount consideration in the matter of legalized abortion is whether or not the unborn child can be regarded as less than human. Proponents of breaking down legal protection for the unborn desperately wish to evade the charge that the taking of fetal life involves the slaying of an innocent human being. Usually they plead either that the unborn child is not a human being and hence has no right to life, or that not all persons are entitled equally to life. Both suppositions clearly contradict the certain knowledge of science.

"Contemporary biology confirms that there is no qualitative difference between the embryo at conception and the moment of quickening; life is fully present. Upon conception, the unborn does not become an appendage or an organ of the mother; rather it becomes an organism with all the properties thereof and potentially a full human being, and as such worthy of respect for its life.

"This organism is clearly identified as belonging to the human race with full potential; it needs only to be nourished and cherished to develop into an independent person. The difference between the unborn and born child is in degree of development, not a difference in kind."

That statement leans heavily on the cognitive process of science but underemphasizes the other ways of knowing. The scientists alone will never be able to tell if the embryo at a certain stage of development is a human person, and "the certain knowledge of science" has very little to contribute to the question of whether or not all persons are entitled equally to life. Decisions are made frequently which deprive certain persons of this right. The condemned murderer, the dangerous assailant, the enemy soldier (even though innocent) are all denied this right, but justification does not depend on the "certain knowledge of science." It is philosophy and theology that form the moral structure upon which such decisions are based.

In determining the presence of a human person in a living system two points should be kept in mind: (1) biology is but one of the available criteria and should not be overemphasized, and (2) any biology that may

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be used must be the most accurate and current biology available.

The California bishops' statement was necessarily brief, and most of the biology cited is contemporary and significant. The embryo is not an appendage or organ of the mother but rather a separate organism. This organism can be identified as belonging biologically to the human race. The differences between fetus shortly before birth and the infant shortly after birth are not biologically of basic significance. However, I feel that the bishops' statement contains elements of two historic biological theories that require some further comment. These two ideas are the concept of spontaneous generation of life and the preformation theory of embryology.

The concept of spontaneous generation of life held that life could arise continually from strictly non-living matter. This idea began to be abandoned by biologists after experiments by Spallanzani in 1768 showed that no life would develop in a sealed container if the living organisms previously present in the container had been killed by boiling temperature. Since no living systems are being formed *de novo* at the present time, all existing living systems are links in a chain of life that extends backward into the past and will presumably extend forward into the future. As the bishops rightly state, life is present at the moment of conception, but they fail to point out that life did not originate at that moment. The quality of life was passed to the first cell of the embryo from two living cells, the sperm and the ovum. Conception, then, does not represent the beginning of life, although it may represent the beginning of the person.

The second historic biological idea that still seems reflected in the bishops' statement is the concept of preformation. This theory of embryology held that the first cell of the embryo contained every part of the developed individual in miniature and that development consisted merely in an increase in size. The theory of preformation is often contrasted with epigenetic development which states that the various parts of the completed individual arise one after another as a result of interaction of components and that therefore these parts did not exist as such in the fertilized egg. By considering developmental biology in somewhat greater detail than was possible in the bishops' statement we may find how these ideas interact to indicate the physical nature of individual human origins.

Form and Function

Biology in general deals with the form (morphology) and function (physiology) of the living system at the atomic, molecular, cellular, organ, organism or social level. The biology pertinent to the question of abortion deals with the form and function of the living systems involved in the production of human individuals.

The necessary information for the organization of the next generation of individuals is carried in the genetic material found in equal amounts in the nuclei of the parental sperm and ovum that fuse to form the first genetically complete cell of the new individual. In order to prevent doubling of the genetic material (genes on chromosomes) at each generation, the sperm and ova have been formed in such a way that only one half of the genetic material of the parents' cells is incorporated into the nucleus of each sperm or ovum. In a sense, then, the development of the new individual begins with the selection of the genes for the sperm and ova from the parental genetic pool. Each sperm and ovum represents a unique selection of this genetic material. A single sperm then combines with an ovum in the Fallopian tube to form the first genetically complete cell of the new individual. This cell is also unique in terms of its particular genetic make-up, since each sperm and ovum has received, at random, one half of the genetic material of the parent cells. It is extremely unlikely that one sperm would have received exactly the same genes as another. The same thing holds for the ova, so that fusion of a particular sperm and ovum results in a cell that is genetically unique.

This first cell of the new individual contains all of the genetic information that, during development, will interact with its environment to produce the complete human organism. However, this first cell itself cannot be described in either form or function as a complete human individual. It is not a tiny human body that only needs to grow in size to become a standard human person. Development does not take place by growth alone but is an intricate process of interaction between genetic material and its environment that produces new form and function in the embryo as development proceeds. Even the genetic material itself may change in form and function.

The first cell of the embryo undergoes division into two cells called daughter cells. During this division the genetic material is replicated and distributed equally to the daughter cells. Each of the daughter cells in turn divides, and the process continues until the astronomical number of cells of the complete human body have been formed. Although all of these cells have arisen, by division, from the first embryonic cell and therefore have the same genetic composition, they have acquired specialized form and function (a liver cell is quite different from a nerve cell) through the process of differentiation. Genetic material alone then does not determine the form and function of a cell. The expression of form and function is determined by the interaction of genetic material and its environment in the cell, tissue and organism.

As development proceeds, certain landmarks can be noted in the continuous transition from single cell to complete human individual. Implantation in the wall of the uterus, development of the placenta, movement or quickening and birth are all important events, but none

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represents a point in development where the biological form and function of the human individual are suddenly added.

In fact, it appears that such a point does not exist. The attributes of form and function that designate the living system as a human individual are acquired at various times during development in a process that is relatively continuous. The fetus late in development is obviously a living human individual in form and function. The single cell stage, early in development, does not possess many of the attributes of biological form and function that are associated with the human individual. The transition occurs gradually, not at a single point in time.

Biological development does not stop at birth. The infant develops into the child, the child into the adult and even the adult continues to modify his form and function into old age and death. Each of these transitions also occurs in a continuous fashion, rather than all at once at a single time. To say when the embryo becomes a human individual may be as difficult biologically as determining when a child becomes an adult. Although the beginning and ending states are quite recognizably different, the transition occurs in an individual continuously, so that no one point in time can be designated as the line that separates the two states.

The Potential of Living Systems

Very early embryonic cells have the ability to produce, by division, a complete human individual. This potential is gradually lost during development, with the result that cells at later stages, even though placed in a suitable environment, cannot produce a complete individual. This potential for total development is a quality of function (and presumably of form) that belongs to cells existing early in the process of development. It is not, however, a property that is found only in the first genetically complete cell, but extends back to the individual sperm and ovum cells and even in part to the cells of the testes and ovaries of the parents. If the proper environmental conditions exist, development of the new individual can proceed. The environment may include other cells (for example the sperm cell requires an ovum as part of the necessary environment) and may be more or less under human control (intercourse: more; implantation: less).

Potential is not a property that can be said to exist only after fusion of egg and sperm. It again is a continuously varying quality. Potential is realized by interaction with environment. As potential is changed into existence the potential decreases and the realized existence increases. As the living system realizes some of its potential and acquires some of the properties of a particular human individual, it necessarily loses potential for developing into any other human individual. A sperm has the potential to develop into many kinds of individuals, depending to a large extent, on the particular ovum with which it combines. Once fusion has taken place, the total genetic make-up of the new individual is determined, and consequently, some of the diverse potentials of the sperm and ovum are reduced.

The unique genetic make-up of the first cell will dictate the development of many of the properties that make the individual unique. However, it can be seen from the case of identical twins that a particular genetic make-up does not necessarily correspond on a one-to-one basis with the development of one particular individual. Identical twins develop from a single cell formed by the fusion of one sperm and one ovum; the embryos later separate into two complete systems. Since both twins developed from the same original cell, they necessarily have the same genetic constitution. While they have many traits in common, they are two human individuals and as such show that the potential of a unique genetic content need not lead to a unique human individual.

An examination of potential does not seem to lead to a single point in time where the new individual comes into being. Rather, it suggests again that there may not be such a single point in nature and that instead, the living system exchanges potential for realized form and function in a continuous way.

Human Rights

Science, and particularly biology, may suggest some ideas pertinent to the problem of abortion that might be explored by theologians. The human individual develops biologically in a continuous fashion, and it might be worthwhile to consider the possibility that the rights of a human person might develop in a similar way.

The right we are primarily concerned with is the basic right to existence. Where in development could we assign this right in justice to the embryo, the mother, the family and society? Birth or quickening seem clearly not to be the point. The embryo has already attained this right before life is felt by the mother. To terminate the existence of the embryo after three or four months of pregnancy is, by both experienced and reasoned knowledge, taking the life of a human individual. To say that such a homicide is the right of the mother and can be performed on demand denies our fundamental

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precepts of justice and humanity. Only the most drastic conditions could justify such an action. Self-defense of the actual life of the mother might be a condition of such drastic severity.

It may well be that an arbitrary point early in pregnancy may have to be defined by theologians at which time the embryo is endowed with the right of existence. Such a single point may not find its counterpart in the biological nature of the developing individual, but this should not necessarily disqualify such a concept. Many of the rights assigned by law to the developing individual (for example, the rights of an adult vs. those of the child) are endowed at a single moment in time. These points do not have a counterpart in biology. In fact, our structure of law concerned with the developing individual after birth is only slightly influenced by the "sure knowledge of science," and this is as it should be. Law and the basis for human rights rest on a foundation of philosophy and theology, not on the morally indifferent observations of science.

Whether or not a single point should be designated as the origin of the human person is a problem for philosophers and theologians. If they decide that such a point is to be defined, its location during the course of development is also to be determined mainly by these disciplines. Biology, however, may provide some ideas for possible reasonable locations for this arbitrary point.

A great many of the unique traits that serve to identify a single human person develop in accordance with the information contained in the genetic material found in the first genetically complete cell. Most, if not all, of the information necessary to dictate the development of a complete human person is contained in this cell formed by the fusion of sperm and ovum, but few, if any, bits of this information are actually expressed in the form or function of this cell itself. Whether or not this unexpressed potential to develop into a unique individual confers on this first cell the nearly absolute rights of survival associated with the developed individual is a question that should receive serious and immediate attention from the theologians.

The theologians cannot wait for biology to solve these questions. We can see from what we already know that the answers cannot come from this quarter alone. Biology may provide some useful clues or models for theologians and philosophers, but the analytic abstractions of science cannot be substituted for the knowledge of reality achieved by man's total synthetic processes.

Abortion–II

A LEGAL VIEW

ROBERT M. BYRN

Biologically and legally the fetus is a human being. "Medical authorities have long recognized that a child is in existence from the moment of conception," is the way that the Supreme Court of New Jersey phrased it in 1960. In recent years, the courts of many states have affirmed the medico-legal status of the fetus as a human being. It is not surprising, then, to find in a Planned Parenthood pamphlet published in 1963 this graphic indictment of abortion, "An abortion requires an operation. It kills the life of a baby after it has begun."

It is true that science and the law have not always recognized the individuated humanity of the unborn child. In fact, for centuries jurisprudential opinion rested on an ancient and erroneous scientific theory that the male implanted the seed of potential humanity in the fertile field of the female. For some time after impregnation the developing life remained a part of the mother "as the fruit is a part of the tree." Thus, Aristotle postulated three states in the development of the fetus. The purely vegetable life began at conception and thereafter, in successive stages the fetus became animal and then human.

The Aristotelean hypothesis found favor among the early Christian moralists and scientists and as modified by Thomas Aquinas, it provided the foundation for the original English common law concept that a separate life comes into existence only at quickening, that is, with an intrauterine movement by the fetus which is actually felt by the mother. This new human being, whose life began with quickening, was thereby endowed with fundamental human rights. As the jurist, Blackstone, wrote in 1765, "Life is the immediate gift of God, a right inherent by nature in every individual and it begins in contemplation of law as soon as an infant is able to stir in the mother's womb." Such was the original common law rule.

But, in the words of a New York court, "We know something more of the actual process of conception and foetal development now than when some of the common

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law cases were decided." We know, for instance, that it is conception not quickening which initiates the life of a new individual. We know that this individual develops, not in the distinct stages envisioned by the ancients and by our common law forebears, but in a gradual and purposeful manner, much like the gradual growth to maturity of the child after birth. As Patten points out in his *Foundations Of Embryology*, "Birth is but a convenient landmark in a continuous process."

The late Dr. A. C. Mietus, an eminent teacher of obstetrics, summed it up nicely when he gave this answer to an allegation that the fetus is merely an "inchoate" being: "The embryo or fetus may be 'inchoate' but it is indisputably complete and integrated in terms of its essential elements; it requires nothing but food to grow. In terms of ultimate full development to maturity, the infant after birth is comparably an inchoate creature."

In short, modern science teaches us that there is no qualitative difference between life at conception and life at birth. "The law is presumed to keep pace with the sciences," wrote a federal judge in 1946, "From the viewpoint of the civil law and the law of property, a child *en ventre de sa mère* is not only regarded as a human being, but as such from the moment of conception—which it is in fact."

Discrimination

Unfortunately for the unborn child, even though the law may recognize him as a human being, he just does not look like the rest of us, and besides, he is utterly helpless and dependent. He is, in other words, a classic subject for discriminatory treatment.

For instance, the advocates of permissive abortion not uncommonly refer to the unborn child as a "piece of fetal tissue." It is true, of course, that in the very early part of the pregnancy, the child looks, as Ashley Montagu once put it, "more like a creature from another world than a human being." Yet, as this same scientist hastened to point out, "In spite of his newness and his appearance, he is a living, striving human being from the very beginning."

Some proponents of change attach great significance to the "non-viability" of the fetus. Viability is achieved when a child, if prematurely born, can be kept alive in an environment which artificially simulates intrauterine conditions. In the present state of science, the minimum period of viability is approximately twenty-four weeks.

Apparently, the child's complete dependence upon his mother somehow relegates him to an inferior status and justifies a physical assault upon him by way of abortion. But, as a Pennsylvania court has observed, "There is no dependence by the child on the mother except for sustenance. It might be remarked here that even after birth the child depends for sustenance upon the mother or upon a third party. It is not the fact that an unborn child is part of the mother, but that rather in the unborn state it lived with the mother." The pre-natal and post-natal child share in common a complete dependence upon others for sustenance. If this dependence justifies an abortion, should it not also justify infanticide? Simply stated: neither odd appearance nor complete dependence is adequate reason for denying to the unborn child the equal protection of the law.

If the unborn child is an inferior being, one would think that he might be disposed of at will. Still, most advocates of change in the law purport to disavow abortion-at-will, although some of their proposals are so loosely worded that few abortions would remain illegal. Some even condemn abortion as a positive evil, but, they say, safe legal abortions are preferable to the dangerous black-market variety.

Testimony at recent legislative hearings in New York revealed the fallacy of this approach. No law, short of abortion-at-will, will significantly reduce illegal abortions. On the contrary, half-way measures merely make abortion more culturally acceptable and create a larger clientele for the black-market abortionist.

Eugenic Abortion

Perhaps the most frightening of the specific proposals for change is eugenic abortion—the pre-natal destruction of a child on a prognosis that he will be physically or mentally disadvantaged at birth. (One New York State legislator, a non-Catholic, recently referred to eugenic abortion as "reverse euthanasia.")

Lawrence Lader, a vigorous advocate of permissive abortion, has argued that a woman, who is denied an abortion of a predictably defective child, is "forced to bear a child against her will, a child whose life may be physically and emotionally blighted, and who may require a lifetime of costly medical care." But the same is true of a woman who gives birth to a defective infant. She is forced to rear a child whose life *is* "blighted" and who *does* require costly medical care. Is infanticide the next step after abortion?

Mr. Lader's argument for eugenic abortion does hint at a common ground upon which the antagonists in the

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abortion controversy might meet. For instance, is there a possibility of local interfaith cooperation to provide massive social, economic, and medical assistance to handicapped children and their parents?

Such cooperation assures the desirability of preserving the handicapped child's life. On the other hand, we may have become so enamored of our own technology that some of us no longer make these moral judgments. For instance, science is near to perfecting an unerring diagnosis of fetal defects. As a result, some argue that our abortion laws are "behind science" because we do not permit destruction of the defective unborn child. The intermediate moral determination between diagnosis and death has been omitted entirely. The diagnosis is the death sentence.

I like Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits' answer to the exponents of this philosophy: "Human life being infinite in value, its sanctity is bound to be entirely unaffected by the absence of any or all mental faculties or by any bodily defects: any fraction of infinity still remains infinite."

It has also been proposed that we legalize abortion when the pregnancy threatens the physical or mental health of the mother. In view of the virtual disappearance of medical indications for abortion, one wonders whether "health" is a mere euphemism for socio-economic abortion-birth control by killing the life of a baby after it has begun. As Dr. Colin P. Harrison wrote in The Canadian Medical Association Journal, "If the terms under which abortion is to be legally permitted are not to be concerned solely with those conditions which constitute an immediate threat to the mother's life, then the legal indications change subtly from the preservation of life to the preservation of happiness."

The abortion advocates make their strongest case in the instance of a rape-induced pregnancy. Must a woman suffer the anguish of carrying a rapist's child? It sounds appalling until we remember that the thing in the womb is a child in the first year of his life; that he is more helpless at the hands of the abortionist than his mother was at the hands of the rapist.

We have a choice in the case of a rape-induced pregnancy. We can either kill the child or we can direct all our efforts and ingenuity toward smoothing the way for both the mother and the child. The latter is the truly humane choice.

I suppose we are all seeking the humane (and moral) solution. For some of us, however, the purposeful destruction of an innocent human life, as a means of accomplishing a desirable social end, can never be truly humane or moral. Whenever such a course is proposed, we shall protest. When our bishops lead us in protest, as they have done in New York, we shall follow and uphold them—even at the risk of a disruption in the ecumenical dialogue. Furthermore, the lawyers among us will continue to condemn "liberalized" abortion laws as unconstitutional denials of the equal protection of the law to a voiceless, voteless minority.

SOUL WEATHER

THE STAGE

In pop music one of the more interesting topics these days is soul weather. Telling it like it is on the inside are such songs as "Good Day Sunshine," "Mellow Yellow," and a depressing little number called "Turn-Down Day." Nothing terribly new, perhaps, but the emphasis in these songs, once you hear them, is recognizably different. Instead of a passing mood, for instance, they speak of new environments altogether. New perceptions, even new personalities, unpredictably surface, only to submerge again as the interior climate changes. The phenomenon is a little like the east wind in Leo Lehman's play (called "The East Wind"), which might well be an early case of soul weather, going all the way back to Elizabethan times.

According to the lore on the subject, the east wind is supposed to set loose a suicidal impulse in its victims. Lehman's play is about the suicide of a Polish war refugee, who performs the act in the back room of his London delicatessen. Actually, the play is about two Polish refugees, Konarski (George Voskovec), who is the one who hangs himself, and his friend and business partner, Zauber (Michael Granger), who wants to talk him out of it. The rest of the play consists of flashbacks to events that happen over a 20-year span, from the war and a long period of dispirited wandering to the final haven of London. The story is told by Zauber, who is Jewish and who views the years as an epic struggle for survival. Aroused himself in the retelling, Zauber in a fit of exasperation asks Konarski how he can take his life now, having survived so much. Konarski has no answer and Zauber speculates that his friend is caught in the wraps of the east wind. Lehman calls his play a comedy, in that both characters eventually get what they are after. Zauber can imagine nothing beyond a relative survival; Konarski takes an option on the ultimate. The play itself raises a few interesting questions concerning the dramatic possibilities of suicide.

If Lehman had written a black comedy, Konarski's suicide might have been passably funny. But since that wasn't his intention, he is left with the business of stretching the ultimate for three acts. The danger is that either the suicide payoff will prove anti-climactic, especially if we happen to get engrossed in the build-up, or, conversely, with the suicide we get the play in a nutshell and everything else becomes irrelevant. Dramatically, it is a question of all or nothing, and in Lehman's play where the elaborate build-up creaks in more than a few parts, Konarski's suicide seems at once both flat-footed and mysteriously beyond our ken. One feels in all this that a distinctly Central European sensibility is somewhere

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implied, which might bring this play closer together. But if it's there, the Lincoln Repertory Company, under Robert Symond's direction, seems to have missed it in all the delicatessen.

Perhaps the problem with suicide, on stage at least, is that it can only operate as an idea. We have only to watch the antics of an average theatrical mental breakdown to see what it lacks. This is not to say one is more profound than the other, but simply that suicide is less articulate, answering only yes or no to any particular question. The breakdown manages fairly complex sentences. Perhaps the clincher is that even the black humorists, who are better than most at stretching an ultimate point beyond recognition, generally prefer the limited madness of a breakdown, moving, say, from a toppled chair in the first act to a ruptured Steinway as a finale. Anyway, for Americans suicide tends to fall more into the category of private hygiene than public statement. It has a solitary dignity we associate with primitives, aristocrats and poets, none of whom live next door.

One probably would not be too far off the mark to say that the breakdown is the connecting tissue that links all the various strains of American theater, much as the sense of fate, comic or tragic, must have linked the Greek dramatists. Konarski, however, is primitive, aristocrat and poet all wrapped into one. For him the internalizing process doesn't stop at the point of self-destruction and then seek the nearest bell tower or book store window. For us, on the other hand, the final push inward seems to be lacking. The democratic temper can still grasp at the possibility of love in the stab in the gut. If the archetypical American suicide were to be described, it would probably take place in a crowd, be generally messy, and the suicide would survive as a mental case. The unforgivable despair is never consummated, and, paradoxically, the result is sometimes tragic, for madness can lead to tragedy and suicide cannot. (*At the Vivian Beaumont*)

Even on Broadway there could only be room enough for one comedy about a girl named Amy living in the East 70s and in love with a poor young intern whom she suspects of vile doings and who in turn suspects her, all because of a simple misunderstanding that sort of grows and grows. There you have the basic plots of "Love in E-Flat," by Norman Krasna and starring Kathleen Nolen (*At the Brooks Atkinson*), and "The Paisley Convertible," by Harry Cauley (*Closed at the Henry Miller's*), both of which opened on consecutive nights last week. The plays are alike even to the sofas that glare out over the audience from stage center. I would have traded my seats for either.

PAUL VELDE

DEAR GOD:

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TOTAL WHAT?

THE SCREEN

When the English version of "Marat/Sade" appeared on the stage in London and then later in New York, the critics and then their audience-readers screamed "total theater." Total it was, indeed—with all the sights and sounds of the theater throughout the ages, the violence, the love-making, a wide variety of instruments for making music and noise, a mixture of styles with emphasis on Brecht and Artaud, plus the erratic behavior and verbal cacophony of the mad people who were its principal characters. But if that was "total theater," is the movie "total movie"?

Made by the Royal Shakespeare Company under the direction of Peter Brook, as was the stage production, "Marat/Sade" follows the stage presentation rather closely, has the same asylum bath-house set and excellent cast (with Ian Richardson as Marat, Glenda Jackson as Charlotte Corday, and Patrick Magee as de Sade) but it is still not just a filmed play. It has some lovely color photography in its over-all grayish brown tones and startling contrasts between the bath-house's white tile walls and the brilliant colors used in facial make-ups, costumes, and those buckets of blood that run red, blue, and white. And it has many close-ups of the inmates' idiot faces as they glide through a gamut of wild expressions and as less mad characters spout their views or the lines that de Sade has written for them. But this is still not "total cinema" since it has a certain static quality in spite of Brook's well-handled flowing camera. Perhaps it can best be described as a movie of "total theater."

The picture's plot is revealed in the title: "The Persecution and Assassination of Jean-Paul Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade" and that's what takes place in this play and the play-within-the-play. As audience in the film are the asylum's director (this is in 1808), his wife and daughter, as well as a group of people whose backs are toward us and who are separated from the bathhouse stage by bars. Lucky people. Sometimes the camera shows the bars, but more often it goes

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onto the stage to capture every expression, every act of mad violence or indecency. Eventually this total-theater stuff takes over and, although we never project ourselves into the story, we are moved and repelled by the continued hammering on the senses.

The film's script is practically the same as Peter Weiss' play, and every time we begin to catch on and get the sense of the running argument between Marat, the political and sociological idealist who is convinced that Revolution is necessary even though it often leads to corruption, and de Sade, who advocates individuality and destructive nature, director Brook interupts the thought line with another display of carousing inmates busting into song or attacking each other. Some of this is very effective —but it takes an awfully long time for sweet, half-asleep, mad Charlotte Corday finally to stab Marat in his bath. Although the thought line in the script is broken by the mad carryings-on, the movie has one great advantage over the stage presentation: one can hear the lines, thanks to help from microphones and the close-ups as the director plays his camera on the speaker, as when Marat says, "I am the Revolution," or the mad ex-priest asks, "When will you learn to take sides?" or when de Sade sums up with, "At the end there's no solution; the last word is not spoken, but left open." But at the very end, the inmates go berserk and riot reigns in an orgy of fury. So perhaps de Sade, smiling through all this, knows he won. But each viewer will have to decide for himself. The "Marat/Sade" movie has pushed us into thinking, even though we may decide after this strenuous session with the Charenton inmate-actors that there's less here than meets the eye.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

TWO APPEALS: Msgr. J. B. Rodrigues of Kerala seeks aid for the illiterate low-caste people in his vicariate served by twelve priests. They conduct an orphanage housing two hundred children aged from five to eighteen years; it costs ten dollars a month simply to clothe and feed a child there. "The food problem is very serious in this state . . . an adult gets a ration of 6 ounces of rice per day and a child up to twelve years of age only 3 ounces . . . Yet this meager ration was not received regularly for the last two months." Readers may send funds directly to: Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. B. Rodrigues, R.C. Mission, Trikarpur, Cannanore District, Kerala, India.

Mother M. Evangelista, in North India, also needs money for food. Her community lost its source of support when the paying students left to attend new government schools. "Only the non-paying children are left. . . . Their parents have no education and I do want to help them. Address: Mother M. Evangelista, Carmel Convent, Bishrampur Colliery, N.C.D.C., Surguja District, Madhya Pradesh, India. (International money orders available at local U.S. post offices take only two or three weeks.)

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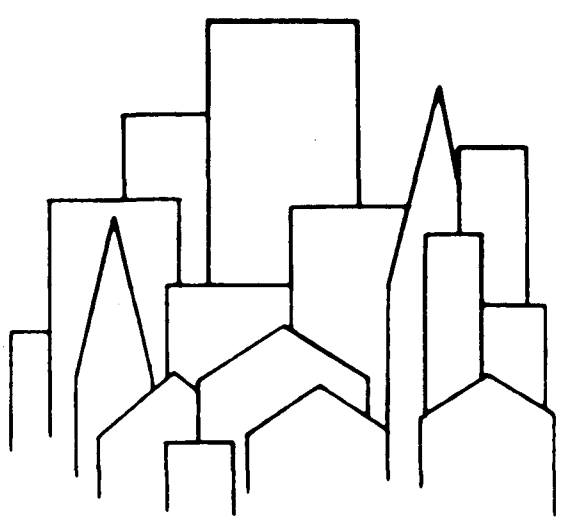

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BOOKS

The crisis of the New Deal

The First New Deal

RAYMOND MOLEY

Harcourt Brace & World, $12.50

Re-organizing Roosevelt's Government

RICHARD POLENBERG

Harvard University Press, $5.95

ROGER H. MARZ

"I am concerned mostly with informing a new generation about certain major events in the history of their country and also with refreshing the memories of those who grew to maturity at that time but who were too far away to know all that happened."

Such is Raymond Moley's purpose and he achieves it perfectly. It would be tragic if contemporary students of politics were to neglect this book because they disagree with the author on political problems of today. I say tragic because it is precisely these differences that make the book so valuable. Too frequently the writing of those who participated in great events is colored by hindsight. In such cases the reader must constantly struggle to distinguish between what the author says he said and did and what really happened.

This book does not confront the reader with such a problem. Moley's personal integrity and sound standards of scholarship are partly responsible, but even more important is the fact that none of his opinions on the matters of policy with which he is concerned has changed since 1932. The formation of economic policies which were so inappropriate as to move a contemporary scholar to tears or laughter (depending on how closely he identifies with the people who lived in those troubled times) is described in detail by Moley and his role in them is depicted with magnificent unconcern for contemporary professional and political opinion.

When taken to task by his former associates for deserting the New Deal and the Democratic party, Moley's defense has always been that the party left him. This book is conclusive evidence that his contention is correct. Moley's final break with the New Deal came in 1935 and 1936 as a consequence of the adoption by Roosevelt of a political strategy that Moley describes as that of Ed Flynn, the Bronx political boss. In Flynn's own words, "There are two or three million more dedicated Republicans in the United States than there are Democrats. The population, however, is drifting into urban areas. The election of 1932 was not normal. To remain in power we must attract some millions, perhaps seven, who are hostile or indifferent to both parties. They believe the Republican party to be controlled by big business and the Democratic party by the conservative South. These millions are mostly in the cities. They include racial and religious minorities and labor. We must attract them by radical policies of social and economic reform."

To Moley, who believes that both parties should "cut into all classes and interests" and that the value of suppressing these differences was so great as to justify "the double-talk and hypocrisy" that this required, the course of the second New Deal was wholly bad; and so he has steadfastly opposed the Democratic party since 1936.

Historians wish to help us understand the past and the great danger they face is that they may make things seem simpler than they really are. Moley's description of the complexities of the London Conference on international monetary policy does not fall into that trap. The conference was a mess. The U.S. delegation was unprepared for it to start with and was further hamstrung by Roosevelt's backing and filling on what United States interests were. A simple description of a bag of worms is misleading and a complete description of an event which confused its participants is likely to confuse the reader too. He may find out what happened but, like those who lived through it, he may never know why.

Mr. Polenburg's book is an account of a similarly complicated political event and like Raymond Moley's account of the London conference he does not fall into the trap of making it seem simple. The event is Roosevelt's proposal to reorganize the executive branch of government during his second administration. Although based on the report of the leading specialists on administrative management of the time, including Louis Brownlow and Luther Gulick, the attempt was defeated by a combination of forces, among them bureaucratic resistance, a public relations campaign led by Frank Gannett, the New York publisher, and Congressional reluctance to delegate their prerogatives to pass on specific reorganization proposals.

Roosevelt tried hard but he could not rally sufficient public or political support to save the proposal; but the mystery that remains is why he was so interested in it in the first place. There is ample evidence that FDR had little taste personally for the tidy administrative styles that were at the heart of the Brownlow report. It seems most reasonable to assume that he did not expect the principles embodied in the report to be a major political issue, because there were opportunities to allay opposition within Congress in the early stages of forming the recommendations that were seriously mishandled.

In fact, the whole affair was a serious misadventure, one which cost Roosevelt dearly in political prestige with few rewards available to him had he won. Mr. Polenberg's detailed analysis makes it clear that FDR's reputation as a master politician does not mean that he made no mistakes, but only that he made fewer than those who opposed him. For those who are not satisfied

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with the simple characterization of the New Deal as the beginning of a battle between "liberals" and "reactionaries" that continues today (and no serious student of politics should be so satisfied), the Polenberg book is a valuable case study.

Like all political epochs the New Deal was shot through with paradoxes, and perhaps the greatest is that the same political values that led Raymond Moley to help shape the first New Deal should lead him to support Goldwater in 1964. If there is a greater one, it is that a man can understand the political process that runs our country as clearly as Moley does and still reject it so thoroughly.

The Arrogance of Power

SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

Random House, $4.95

WILSON CAREY MC WILLIAMS

Our complaint against power is not its wilfulness, but its docility. The placid obedience of power to whoever possesses it has made states and men prisoners of man's increasing mastery; power is not arrogant, but indifferent, toward men.

Arrogance is a human vice, the placing of one's will and desire above the place alloted them in the scheme of things, and in the extreme case, refusing to acknowledge whatever in nature or in man would balk them of their aim. It is a vice of the well-intentioned as often as of the malevolent: Senator Fulbright is a case in point.

Consider two Fulbright theses: (1) the United States, as a conservative power, has an interest in international law; (2) therefore, the law should not be violated "whatever short term advantage may be gained by violating it." Leave aside the fact that traditional international law is unclear, riddled with violations, and rejected by many of the new states Fulbright would have us cultivate. The second thesis seems to be an *a priori* insistence that long term disadvantages always outweigh short term gains, hardly the foundation of political wisdom. Fulbright's confidence, however, is really based on the proposition, both arrogant and naive, that there is a direct correspondence between his moral goals (1), and the requirements of successful policy (2).

It follows that whoever acts contrary to Fulbright's preferences is either uninformed (2) or morally perverse (1). Franklin Roosevelt's decision to wage unrestricted war against the merchant shipping of Japan, for example, cannot be explained by regarding FDR as a fool; Fulbright prefers the unlikely proposition that the decision emanated from a "puritan soul" hidden in the President's breast. The Senator cannot take seriously the possibility that it resulted from a prudent recognition of the necessities of modern war.

Preventive war with China, Fulbright declares, would "destroy freedom" because we cannot "engage in barbarous action without becoming barbarian." Yet one need not be an advocate of war with China to realize that modern war is always barbarous. Would we have been in error to wage a preventive war with Germany in 1933? Having failed to do so, to the world's great cost, we did not conduct the Second World War according to the niceties of eighteenth-century diplomacy but by the barbarous standards of modern war: did we thereby "destroy freedom"? Fulbright's principle does little more than postulate a utopia as reactionary as Metternich's.

Yet the Austrian at least understood the forces of change in his time, as the Arkansan does not. He asserts that Vietnamese fear that their traditional culture cannot survive collision with the United States, and that Americans have a "fatal impact" on the traditional societies of the world. The fault, however, is the modern world's and not America's: the traditional cultures cannot survive at all, though contact with America may aggravate the case. The issue is not *whether* change should occur, but responsibility for change—for the new moral and cultural structures that will emerge in the new states. The United States cannot

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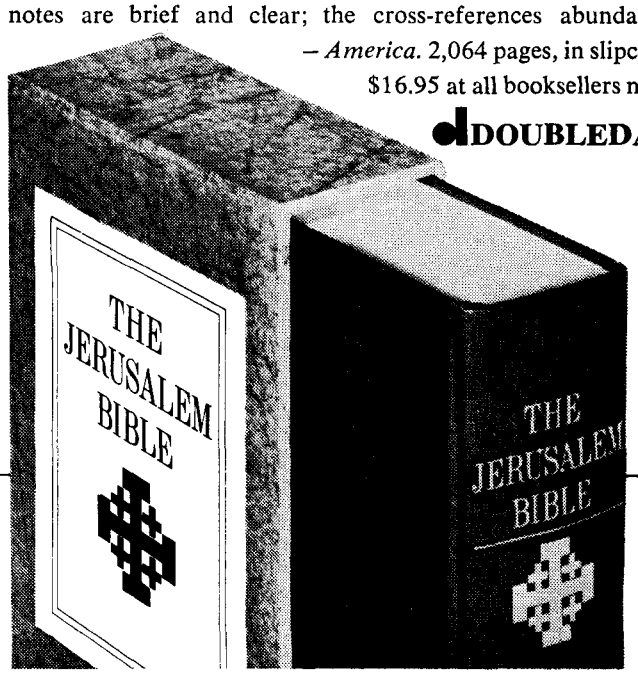

†*Saturday Review*

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"abstain" from intervention in the lives of men: the *fact* and not the "arrogance" of her power is a constant intervention, a permanent presence in all lands. The crux is whether America intervenes intelligently and for ends worthy of herself and of man.

Fulbright doubts the skills, if not the morals of Americans ("Maybe we are not really cut out for spreading the gospel of democracy"). Yet the American record in spreading that delicate evangel is not so dismal (consider Japan, the Philippines, or Puerto Rico). The distinctive American shortcoming has been failure to acknowledge responsibility, not a failure in action. In Latin America, for example, the American freed his conscience by the fiction of "independent" governments in ways which were impossible where America exercised direct sovereignty. Fulbright himself points this out: "having fought a war for three years to defend . . . South Korea, most Americans quickly lost interest. . . ." Even at home, in fact, our sins—toward the poor and the minority races—have been more often the sins of indifference than of action.

The American has been so impressed with the fearfulness of power that he has tended to shape himself in its image, moved passively in the current of its expanding, blind indifference. Fulbright, brilliantly aware of the uniquitous offenses inflicted by the modern world against the dignity of non-Western peoples, is blind to them at home. The violent reactions and the moral blindness he understands abroad escape him in domestic settings: the "domino theory" may be false in fact, but it is true emotionally to numberless Americans who fear to change a world they do not understand and which they believe beyond their reach of control.

Fulbright's prescriptions suffer from his failure to understand Americans: he who cannot understand what is close will fail to comprehend what is far. He suggests that in order to give foreign aid without offense to the dignity of recipients we follow "the same principle that underlies . . . social welfare programs and the effective transfer of wealth from the rich states to the poor states." The dignity of the welfare recipient! The lack of resentment against indignity in Arkansas! And the joke is given point by the fact that Fulbright proposes to administer aid through the International Bank, whose system of voting makes it the effective creature of the West, if not the United States.

Fulbright has had a comfortable life, never far from the centers of affluence and power. He possesses a generous sympathy for the peoples of the non-Western world. Yet it is the sympathy of the social worker combined with the understanding of an ideologue. It is, perhaps, unkind to point out that Fulbright advocated the invasion of Cuba in 1962, because he has since decided that he erred. Yet the decision *then* was the political decision, the measure of the man's craft of state. So long as the world conforms to his wish, the liberal ideologue is generous and benign; let it violate his design and he is likely to insist, with Wilson, that it must be "made to work" according to the plans of his tenderest desiring.

Resentment and turbulence are stronger than Fulbright imagines; the forces of change and drift are powerful beyond his divination. It is a world where hard choices are to be hoped for and not avoided. (For Fulbright, by contrast, there are no hard choices: a war he dislikes, like the Civil War, he dismisses with scant evidence as "unnecessary"). Paradoxically, in relation to Fulbright, the greatest shortcoming of Americans is the greatest hope, for he is only a more affluent and more safely indifferent version of the arrogant romantics of Peking and the American right.

I Don't Need You Any More

ARTHUR MILLER

Viking, $5

STANLEY KOVEN

Arthur Miller's people wear conventional clothes and make conventional noises. Quite often they even think conventionally. But tap them here and prod them there, administer a large dose of sentimentality, and they begin to quake like dishes of Jell-O. Now we discover the playwright tapping, prodding and dosing "at another distance," as he points out in the Foreword to his first published volume of short fiction.

"The playwright," he confesses, "after all, is a performer *manqué* . . . But the point comes when one would rather be real and at home." Here is Miller at home among his people and being real about his public and private ghosts. Indulging the adorable muse who may or may not be Marilyn Monroe; and that persistent intimator of mortality who may or may not be his father, shut off in a nursing home for the aged; and the muse who prowls the Brooklyn waterfront, from "A View From the Bridge" to its present manifestation in a story called "Fitter's Night."

When a playwright turns to the writing of short stories, Miller informs us, "he is shifting his distance toward or away from the terrible heat at the center of the stage." Yet one suspects that Miller succeeds precisely when he works nearest to the hot center. That is true of his plays as well; but it is most blatantly true of his short fiction, where too often we find the author, and ourselves with him, receding and receding and receding until the event, or the crisis behind the event, seems only a blur.

There are nine stories in this volume, dating from 1951 to 1966, ranging in scope from the well-made short story to the cellophane-wrapped flash of insight. All but one have appeared in magazines; "Fitter's Night," the best of the lot, is published here for the first time. In "Fitter's Night," Miller works close to the heat, and he cooks. We follow Tony Calabrese, an unredeemed slob, Shipfitter First Class, through a night of rage, pity and duty at the Brooklyn Navy Yard during World War II. We are locked in with Tony, not Arthur, and the excitement generated as Tony picks his way from choice to choice matches that generated by the best of the plays. The Miller ear, too, is working at full capacity.

Relieved of his theatrical obligation to write tightly, and to hang his creation on the sparest of armatures, Miller the craftsman too frequently turns flabby; and Miller the soothsayer too frequently

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is revealed at center stage, offering a bunch of furry dilemmas. "Why do they all end in sex?" cries the tormented heroine of "The Prophecy." ". . . Do you know why that is happening? To everybody? . . . It seems to me that almost everyone I know is going crazy."

The title piece is the tale of a young Jewish boy who attains the wisdom in the course of a family squabble on Yom Kippur Day to know that he's in charge of the household. "He was their protector now," muses 5-year-old Martin, as he weighs his family's moral vulnerability. For those who responded to the movie, there is interest in the original, prose text of "The Misfits." The character of Roslyn, the lady who hates violence, dominated the movie in the person of Marilyn Monroe; but in the 1957 story, focusing on three picaresque mustang-hunters, Roslyn is no more than an offstage presentiment. "Fame" is a funny turn about a vastly successful (bearded) Broadway playwright learning what it's like to be fair game to celebrity hounds. All except for Bernie Gelfand, who knew him waybackwhen at Dewitt Clinton HS. "I'm in shoulder pads," Bernie says, taxing the playwright to remember him. ". . . What do you do?"

There were too many persons, places and things too distant in the sense of *small*. It seemed a long day's journey round Robin Hood's barn.

Religion and Society

CLAUD D. NELSON

Sheed and Ward, $4.50

DONALD P. GRAY

That religion and society interact on one another is an indisputable fact. That such interaction can and has frequently been abrasive and indeed destructive (for both parties) constitutes another one. Often enough, however, such interaction has been quite haphazard and unpremeditated in any systematic or organized sense. Has the time come when it will be possible for religion and society to enrich one another in some more clearly defined and concerted fashion? Can these varied fields of cultured force and energy systems be harmonized in a pragmatic, programmatic way?

Even if a consensus could be secured on the desirability of such an undertaking, there would undoubtedly still exist a staggering multiplicity of opinions as to how it should be pursued *in concreto*. Realizing only too well the magnitude of the problem and eschewing a multifaceted theoretical approach to it, Dr. Nelson has opted for an "experiential-reportorial approach—encouraged by five years of reporting the Second Vatican Council, in both preparation and progress." To these five years of experience, Dr. Nelson is able to add another forty spent variously with the YMCA, the civil rights movement, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the National Council of Churches, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

This broad spectrum of commitments made over the years has largely determined his choice of topics and angle of vision. Under scrutiny come successively: religious liberty, education, church-state relations, population control, the race problem, anti-Semitism, and war, and numerous interrelated but less ominous questions. Throughout, Dr. Nelson is at pains to indicate both the failures and contributions of the churches in the social sphere and the possibilities which await their "conspiratorial" (in John Courtney Murray's sense of the word) attention. Basically, this volume is a plea for an ecumenical assault on social issues. "United we stand, and can overcome. There is less wasted energy, there is better use of laymen, there is the stimulus of friends instead of the self-serving denunciation by the self-righteous. Christians must accept the prayer of Jesus in John XVII as evidence that if his followers are united the world is more likely to believe in him." And not only must there be an

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REVIEWERS

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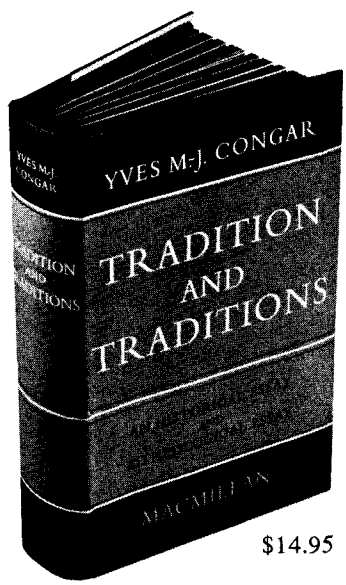

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In *Tradition and Traditions,* the author of the widely-praised *Power and Poverty in the Church* examines Christian Tradition and its continuing development over the twenty centuries since the founding of the Church. Among the specific areas of Tradition discussed:

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Yves M.-J. Congar, a French Dominican, clearly demonstrates how the historical evolution of these and other traditions influences the development of Tradition today, particularly in the light of the ecumenical movement. A remarkably detailed portrayal of Tradition in the making.

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immediate intensification of intramural dialogue on social issues but a wider dialogue with secular society on the scope to be allowed for religion within the framework of church-state separation.

Dr. Nelson doesn't shy from expressing his own viewpoint. But he intends his modest proposal to be read primarily as an attempt to pose the right questions. Written in plain, readable language, salted with just the right amount of personal anecdote, supported with pertinent statistics and relevant authorities, this is a book accessible to a large non-professional audience, and one can only hope that it reaches one.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 667)

ment of the foetus' life.

If this is so (and, of course, it is only a tentative approach), then is not the issue whether the parents who participated in causing conception have a right to determine whether or not the pregnancy is to continue? The advances made in medicine as well as in other areas of life have necessarily brought with them an increase in the extent of free choices. We are not so dependent upon the vagaries of physical nature as we once were. Although the institutional church fails to understand this in the area of contraception, many individual Catholics do. They see that the means used to control conception are less important than the substantive decision of whether they should have more children. So in the case of abortion, is not the real issue the free responsible decision of the parents who caused the conception? Or in many instances the decision of the woman who has conceived and has no husband to contribute to making the decision on abortion?

Our approach to problems too often appears to be one of precluding the making of choices. If you condemn *a priori*, then the individual is not faced with a choice. He simply is the tool of the inevitable forces of nature and his destiny is beyond any power of individual choice. We further assume that people are going to choose the worst and give no recognition to the fact that each of us has to live with himself and the decisions he has made. Every expansion of freedom carries with it the concomitant risk that individuals will exercise that freedom in choosing evil rather than good. But have we not learned that by foreclosing choice we also preclude the development of responsible human beings who are forced to search their souls and make choices which they are not forced to make by external circumstances.

If we stick on the unrationalized premise that every foetus has an inalienable right to be born, the rest of the world will pass us by. In doing so, it will probably demonstrate fallacies in our premise that will give rise to the type of credibility gap caused by the birth control issue. The inconsistency of the bishops in their magisterial silence on the great issue of peace and their rushing into print on the issue of abortion necessarily raise questions in the mind of any observer. Is it not about time we gave up the easy task of resting on an assumed principle and devoted ourselves to a real examination of the problem of abortion? JOHN S. HOLLAND

Dream City Experiments

Washington, D. C.

To the Editors: With reference to the article "Dream City (Almost)" by Harvey Cox (Jan. 20), I think the record should be straightened a bit. Mr. Cox may think that the 636,000 units of public housing constructed and occupied by 9.3 million low-income families are "miniscule." I doubt anyone else would.

Secondly, your readers should know that an experiment in providing new housing for low-income families in such upper income localities as Reston is actually underway. On November 10, 1966, Secretary Robert C. Weaver of the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development announced a $200,000 grant to Reston Virginia Foundation for Community Programs, a private non-profit organization, to demonstrate the development of low-income housing with existing middle- and high-income housing.

The demonstration will test factory-fabricated steel houses with two, three, and four bedrooms. We hope that ultimately 200 such homes will be built for low-income families, in a variety of town house clusters, garden apartments, terraced hillside housing. All residents will have equal access to community facilities.

Columbia, another new city in nearby Maryland, is also planning for low-income as well as other families. And ex-

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periments in providing more low income housing through rehabilitation, as well as new construction are beginning to show real results and promise.

The problem is far from solved, agreed. Far too many families are living in substandard housing. However, your readers should not be left with an impression that nothing is going on. A lot is, but we need much, much more.

H. RALPH TAYLOR
Assistant Secretary
Dept. of Housing and
Urban Development

The Celibacy Dilemma

Jerusalem, Israel

To the Editors: James O'Gara's "The Celibacy Explosion" (Jan. 13) was a rare blend of balance and penetration. I should like only to expand his note on the bitterness creeping into the debate, and this by way of comment rather than disagreement. I suppose I should say at the outset that I am a seminarian, a Jesuit.

He writes, "It is unfortunate but true, I think, that a certain bitterness has crept into the celibacy discussion. . . . I gather from priests and at least one bishop I have talked to that a couple of the critics of celibacy managed to impugn the manhood or the emotional balance of the presently celibate in the course of the discussion."

Why the hesitancy? Midway in the long *National Catholic Reporter* debate occasioned by Dan Sullivan's "Celibacy and the Contraception Debate," Sullivan wrote (NCR, August 17th, 1966): "My article's chief point was that biologism is the basis for the past condemnation of contraception *and* for the present defense of celibacy, making it impossible to take a personalist stand on any question regarding sex without challenging the biologistic premise of what I believe is a self-renunciatory and thus self-mutilating vocation."

When celibates are called self-mutilating, their manhood is, to put it mildly, impugned. I have no very clear idea how the clergy reacted to Sullivan: I have been outside the USA since 1964 and, since coming to Israel last June, out of touch with the Catholic world anywhere. Personally, I felt that I had been hit so hard and so low that, so to speak, my wind was knocked out. I did not want to answer. The mutilated are pathetic at best. A *mutilé* defending his normality is simply revolting.

Even on the philosophical level, it was difficult to reply to Sullivan since I had myself been using his basic insight in the contraception question. In high school, I was "sent to the office" for asking my religion teacher whether love was natural with natural laws to be observed or whether there were only laws for copulation. To Mr. Sullivan, I could have protested a justification of celibacy beginning not from biologism but from a kind of pluralism of fulfillment. My novice-master had spoken in terms of consecration, different consecrations, married people and celibates seeking the same eternal goal, etc.; "affective fulfillment" was a byword among the novices. However, cut to the bone, celibacy *is* a renunciation, and I saw plenty of reason for the sort of investigation Sullivan undertook.

The trouble was that Sullivan declared the investigation closed at the close of his article. For him (and for how many others?—he had been given featured space in a major Catholic journal) there was no longer any doubt. It was this that was upsetting. What kind of service could Sullivan-led laymen possibly hope from priests toward whom they could feel only pity and disgust? What priests could bear the humiliation of working with them? And what would happen to the Church with the clerical power-holders thus cut off from the lay intellectuals?

If I exaggerate what Sullivan feels

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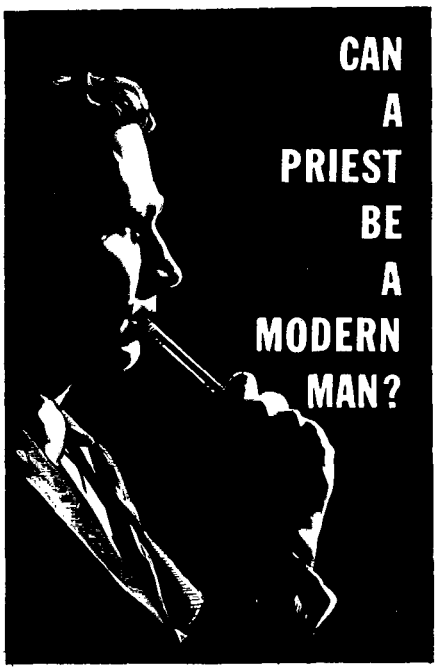

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toward celibates, I do not exaggerate what I felt last summer after reading his article. And I suspect that this sort of emotion, conscious or not, was behind some of the more hysterical letters printed by NCR (I'd like to see the letters they didn't print).

In Sullivan's attack, however, and in the clerical counter-attack, there is more to be seen than a case history in how Christians fight one another. There is a questionable presupposition to be brought to light, and the two sides share it. Sullivan shouts, "You guys are not fulfilled." The monks shout back, "We are too." Both sides presuppose that religious life is indefensible unless it is as fulfilling as marriage. I would maintain, to the contrary, that if celibacy is as fulfilling as marriage, then there can be no religious life at all.

Religious celibacy aims first and last at a kind of clarity of religious expression. In any act not a pure renunciation, there is an insurmountable ambivalence by which one does "for God" what one could as coherently do for oneself or for one's friends. Marriage makes sense as a part of Christian life. It makes equally good sense taken straight, so to speak, just as a part of life. It makes sense in two contexts. Celibacy responds to the felt desire to do something that will make sense in only one context, something that will require explicit reference to God. It is intended to be gratuitous and inexplicable in itself so that it can be presented, like a bouquet of wantonly cut flowers, to God alone. God does not demand celibacy, but a man can feel the need to express to himself his own relatedness to God in an act which because it is neither for himself nor for anyone else can only be for God. True, any given celibate will be found doing much for others and for himself. But the act of his original renunciation, his refusal of marriage, is without beneficiary: neither he himself nor the wife he does not marry nor the children he does not father. Celibacy is for nobody—unless it be for God. And then it is worship.

If then the act of renunciation is essentially an act of worship, then when Sullivan attacks religious celibacy as self-renunciatory, he attacks it as religious. And, worse, when his attackers assert that religious celibacy is really *not* self-renunciatory but rather enormously fulfilling, they assert that it is really *not* religious. For renunciation, whatever form it may take, is always renunciation of fulfillment. Sacrifice is sacrifice of fulfillment. Celibacy need not preclude all self-realization whatsoever, but it does eliminate one crucially important form of self-realization and to this extent is not fulfillment but emptying.

The point is anything but new. Recently, Daniel Callahan talked around it effectively in his "Honesty in Vocations" (NCR, September 21, 1966): "It is just not at all clear where the much-vaunted sacrifice of the religious life makes its appearance . . . pictures of pleasant rooms, quiet libraries, happy faces and active bodies cavorting about on well-kept athletic fields. While it is true that there are no pictures of stuffed pigs gracing the refectory tables, no effort is spared in reassuring the candidate that he will be well fed. The overall impression one is likely to get is the best of everything. All the world and sacrifice too!" Callahan should read some current treatments of religious celibacy: "Fulfillment in love and celibacy too!" It is less clear than ever where the sacrifice of religious life makes its appearance.

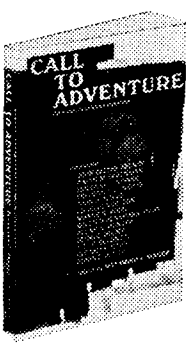
In point of fact, however perfectly a given monk may feel himself fulfilled, the specifically religious value of his life is linked to a degree of voluntary non-fulfillment. If celibacy and marriage are equally fulfilling, then there is no particular religious significance to choosing either one of them over the other.

No, Fathers, open your eyes. Marriage is better, better for anyone. And only because it is so clearly better can our celibacy be an act of worship before a world-transcending God. When we gave up marriage, we gave up a complex natural and supernatural good, not just the sex but the sacrament as well. What remains, celibacy, is nothing positive, nothing that could be consecrated by an eighth sacrament, only a multiple emptiness. But that emptiness cries faith and love to us and to the whole Church.

Catholics are now beginning to factor out the various elements of social service and religious leadership that have historically been part of the celibate vocation. Most of these are now available elsewhere, and celibacy as a result can be seen in relief for what it is: a renunciation, even—though I will never get used to the word—a mutilation of a sort. I think it only reasonable to expect that fewer men will choose this renunciation in the years to come. But those who do ought to be big enough to take the thing for what it is and not try futilely for Callahan's "All the world and sacrifice too!"

In the meantime, Sullivan's words are no cause for alarm. Christ's were much harsher: "There are eunuchs born that way from their mother's womb, there are

order from chaos . . . the Christian retreat



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eunuchs made so by men and there are eunuchs who have made themselves that way for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. Let anyone accept this who can."

JOHN A. MILES, S.J.

"God"

San Luis Rey, Calif.

To the Editors: *Commonweal Papers: 1* is a fine start. I look forward to further probings of contemporary problems.

The present papers both enlighten the subject of God and prove Collins right when he says we are really just getting started in this matter of applying contemporary insights to the subject.

After reading Burrell and Dewart I also found myself in sympathy with Collins' remark that the logic to support some of these new positions remains to be presented. Let me take an example from Dewart. After giving some important history on the question of natural and supernatural and suggesting some revision of our thinking, he comes to what he considers apparently the climax of his article: We do not experience God as being. But both here and in *The Future of Belief* he subtly changes the meaning of "being," so that the dialectic with the Hellenists (in which being is the middle term) proves nothing. I do not need to present a formal syllogism to illustrate that his argument can go nowhere if at times "being" means "human existent" and at times "an existent." If, in the concluding sentence, "being" means "human existent," then no one can argue with Dewart that God is not experienced as such. If "being" means what the Hellenists (to adopt his term) mean by "being," then he does not prove his point.

(REV.) GEOFFREY G. BRIDGES, O.F.M.

Brown and the Bishops

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: Robert McAfee Brown's open letter to the U. S. Bishops (Feb. 17) suggests to us that it was just as well that none of the Roman Catholic bishops did attend the two-day mobilization in Washington on "Vietnam: The Clergyman's Dilemma."

Dr. Brown's comments made us realize once again that Catholics and Protestants are not really prepared to accept the presence of Catholic bishops in the kinds of activities sponsored by Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam. None of us has faced up to the other clerical dilemma which is the involvement of clergymen, and for that matter laymen also, in public affairs.

If a Catholic bishop had participated in the mobilization, we suspect his presence and any remarks he might have made would have been projected out of all proportion both by the leaders of the mobilization and by the press, just as the significance of the absence of the bishops has, we believe, been overstated by Dr. Brown.

We suspect that not a few among us would have taken any action or statement by a bishop participating in such a gathering as a reflection of the Catholic Church's position; but we are not prepared to have any one of the bishops speak for us on such issues as Vietnam. We think it is time that ad hoc groups such as the Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam help resolve this dilemma by clearly acknowledging the unofficial and voluntary nature of such groupings. Clarity on this point will help prepare the way for more democratically representative inter-religious associations of Christians and Jews prepared to speak authoritatively on the moral and ethical issues affecting their members.

VAIL SCOTT

REV. ROBERT A. REICHER

Niles, Ill.

To the Editors: In reference to Robert McAfee Brown's public letter to the Catholic Bishops (Feb. 17), I should like to point out that these Bishops are not lunatics and that they do not want to contribute to the prolongation of the war as the protesters are doing by giving hope to Hanoi that under their pressure our government will finally capitulate, just the way it happened with France years ago. The protesters should direct their protests to Hanoi and to Moscow. If Russia stopped sending arms to North Vietnam, Hanoi would come to the peace table in no time. Our President is waiting for peace talks. Our misinformed and misguided protesters should acquaint themselves with the reports of Father O'Connor, the best reporter from Saigon. —Thanks to God that the Catholic Bishops possess common sense!

B. LEVINE

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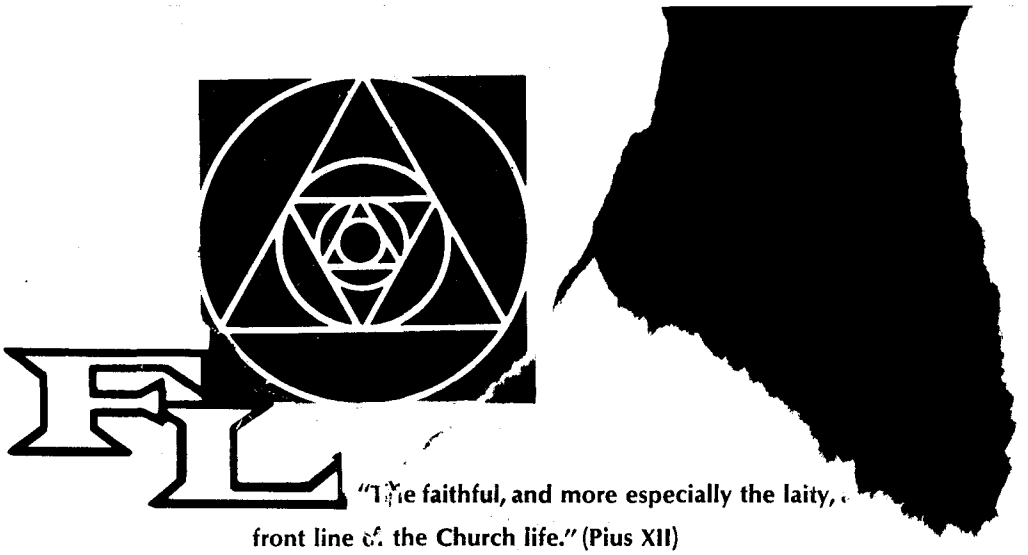

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